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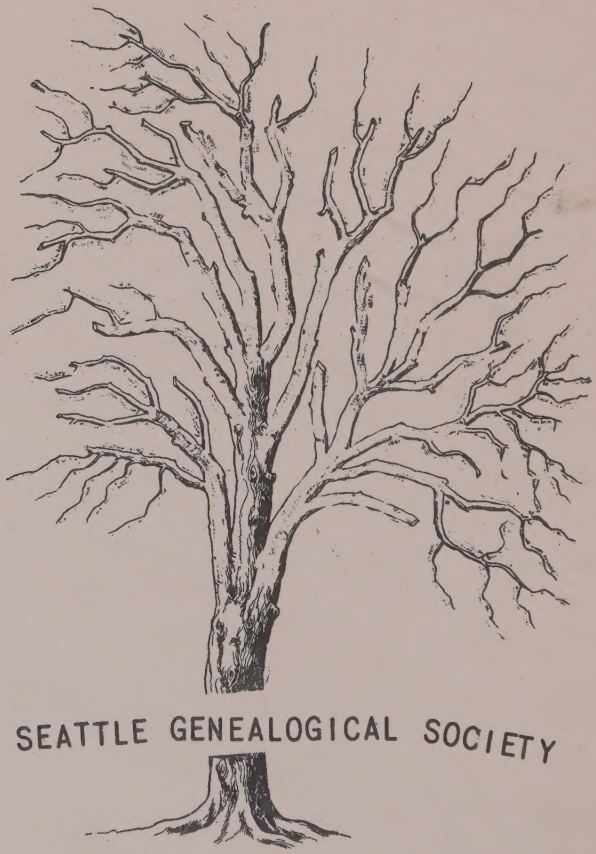

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1879

THE SENATE HOUSE—KINGSTON, N. Y.

MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

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BIRTH OF THE EMPIRE STATE

FORMATION OF THE FIRST CONSTITUTION OF NEW YORK

1777

ON the 10th May 1776, the Continental Congress adopted a resolution recommending to the respective assemblies and conventions of the United Colonies, where no government sufficient to the exigencies of their affairs had been already established, to adopt such government as should, in the opinion of the representatives of the people, best conduce to the happiness and safety of their constituents in general, and America in particular. This was accompanied by a preamble adopted on the 15th of May, declaring the necessity of a total suppression of every kind of authority under the crown of Great Britain and an exercise of all the powers of government under the authority of the people of the colonies.

The colony of New York was, at this period, without a regular government. The assembly had been for more than a year prorogued, the English Governor Tryon had fled for safety to the ship Duchess of Gordon, which lay in the bay under the guns of the men-of-war on the station, and public affairs were under the control of a Provincial Congress elected in the month of April preceding, and then sitting in the City Hall of New York. This Congress was in every sense a revolutionary and temporary body. It was the third in succession from that first Provincial Congress called into being by the Committee of Inspection, immediately after the battle of Lexington, to deliberate upon and from time to time to devise measures expedient for the public safety.

The preamble and resolutions of the Continental Congress were read in the Provincial Congress of New York, on the 24th of May. Mr. Gouverneur Morris opened the business by a long argument

"showing the necessity of the measure and that this was the crisis in which it should be done, and concluded with a motion to appoint a committee to draw up a recommendation to the people of the colony for the choosing of persons to frame a government." Here was shown the tenacity with which even the representatives of the landed estates clung to the popular rights. This was not a strange view for Mr. Morris, whose ancestors had from the early days of English rule been staunch advocates of liberal opinions and unswerving opponents of the encroachments of the Crown. Here was the first public appearance of this gentleman, then but twenty-four, who later became renowned on both hemispheres for his varied accomplishments, versatile talents and commanding eloquence. His views were not concurred in at the moment, being opposed even by the popular leader, John Morin Scott, but they were not without their weight on the Convention. The whole subject was referred to a committee, of which Mr. Henry Remsen was Chairman, who reported on the 27th that they were of the opinion "that the right of framing, creating or new modeling civil governments is and ought to be in the people;" that the "old form of government was dissolved, and a new and regular form of internal government and police had become absolutely necessary." In addition, adopting the view of Mr. Morris, they stated that there were doubts whether the people had invested the Provincial Congress with sufficient authority to frame and institute such government, doubts which could and of right ought to be removed by the good people of the colony, and recommended that the inhabitants of the several counties be summoned to confirm their present or elect new representatives, but with express authority to institute a new internal form of government.

New York had always been jealous of its rights; nowhere were the great principles of English liberty more thoroughly understood than in this colony. In the words of Chancellor Kent, through the whole period of the colonial history "the General Assembly of New York rarely ceased to sustain its rights and assert its dignity with becoming spirit against the whole weight and influence of the delegated powers of royalty." This character of the House, he adds with graceful and forcible illustration, "was a consequence naturally flowing from the healthy and vigorous principle of popular elections, which, like the touch of Antæus of his mother Earth in his struggles with Hercules, always communicated fresh strength and courage to renew the contest."

The report of the committee was agreed to; on the 31st (May) resolutions were adopted setting forth the causes of their action and

recommending the new election of a new body, to meet in New York the second Monday in July, with power to constitute a new government, and on the 10th June the electors were earnestly recommended to inform their deputies of their sentiments relative to the great question of independence which was then before the Continental Congress.

The Provincial Congress continued to meet, taking action for the organizing of regiments and providing for the defense of the city, until the 30th June, when, the British fleet and army under Sir William Howe having entered the harbor, the public papers and treasure were removed to White Plains. It then adjourned to meet at the Court House in that town on the 2d July, and summoned the new Congress elected under their instructions to meet at the same place on the 8th July. The expiring Congress held no further session.

On the 9th the new Provincial Congress for the colony of New York met at the Court House (White Plains), and a majority appearing, organized with the election of General Nathaniel Woodhull as President and of John McKesson and Robert Benson for Secretaries. Immediately after the examination of credentials and the passing of a resolution empowering the General to call out the militia, a letter from the New York delegates in Continental Congress was read, inclosing the Declaration of Independence signed by John Hancock, President of Congress. The letter and Declaration were referred to a committee, which in the afternoon of that same day made a report which was unanimously agreed to, and the delegates in Congress were clothed with full power to concert and adopt all such measures as they deemed conducive to the happiness and welfare of the United States of America. It may here be properly noticed that the letter of John Hancock, President of Congress, dated the 6th July, announcing the passage of the Declaration, did not reach the convention till the 11th, when it immediately ordered a reply to the effect that on information of the Declaration from the New York delegates the convention had anticipated the request of the Continental Congress.

On the 10th it was resolved and ordered that the style or title of the House be changed from that of the "Provincial Congress of the Colony of New York" to that of the "*Convention of the Representatives of the State of New York.*" The next day the Convention appointed Tuesday, the 16th July, to take into consideration the resolve of the Continental Congress, of the 10th May, recommending the formation of a government.

Meanwhile the state of affairs in and about the city of New York had become alarming, and the Convention was fully occupied in preparations

to meet the attack hourly expected; in giving aid to General Washington who was in personal command of the defenses, and in securing the Highland passes and the communication with Albany. On the 12th a second fleet, under command of Lord Howe, arrived at Sandy Hook, and in the afternoon of the same day two of the ships of war, taking advantage of the tide and a favorable breeze, ran past the batteries, and came to anchor off Tarrytown in the Tappaan Zee. Nothing better shows the patriotic self-sacrificing spirit which governed the Convention than their unanimous passage of a resolution pledging to General Washington, if he should think it expedient for the preservation of the State and the general interests of America, to abandon the city of New York and withdraw the troops to the north side of Kings Bridge, their full co-operation in every measure necessary for that purpose. In this grave emergency there was little time for the immediate business for which they were convened, and on the 16th—the appointed day—the consideration of the necessity and propriety of establishing an independent civil government was postponed until the 1st of August. At the same time, to provide for a due administration of the law in the interim, all magistrates and other officers of justice in the State, who were well affected to the liberties of America, were requested until further orders to exercise their respective offices, provided that all processes and other proceedings be under the authority and in the name of the STATE OF NEW YORK.

The Convention likewise unanimously resolved that all persons abiding within the State and deriving protection from the laws of the same owed allegiance to the said laws and were members of the State, and all persons making a temporary stay therein were entitled to its protection and owed to it temporary allegiance, and finally declared that all persons, owing allegiance as above described, who should levy war against the State within the same or adhere to the King of Great Britain be guity of *treason* and that thereof convicted they should suffer the *pains and penaltics* of *death*. Proclamation of these resolutions was ordered in the city of New York at the City Hall after notice by ringing of the bells and publication made in the newspapers.

In such manner, under the pressure of a military situation unexampled in the history of the colonies, did the State of New York emerge from its colonial trammels, and boldly throwing off dependence upon the mother country and allegiance to the King, assert the sovereignty of the people of whom it was composed. No more thorough or complete instance of an absolute popular body-politic can be imagined or devised.

The people, retaining all the rights which had before been vested in them, now assumed also all the reserved right and authorities claimed or exercised by Parliament and the Crown. On the 29th July the Convention ordered the transfer of all their records, files and papers and the treasure to Harlem, where they renewed their sessions in the church on the 29th.

On the 1st of August, the day designated, on motion of Mr. Gouverneur Morris of Westchester, seconded by Mr. William Duer of Charlotte, a committee was appointed to report a *form of government*, and, at the suggestion of Mr. Adgate of Albany, at the same time directed to report a *bill of rights* as the foundation for such a form of government. This committee included the most distinguished men of the Convention. They were John Jay, John Sloss Hobart, William Smith, William Duer, Gouverneur Morris, Robert R. Livingston, John Broome, John Morin Scott, Abraham Yates, Henry Wisner, Sr., Samuel Townshend, Charles De Witt and Robert Yates.

The committee appears to have at once set about the work entrusted to them, but to have been impeded by the non-attendance of Jay and Livingston, who were engaged upon important business on the Secret Committee. This secret committee, raised by the Provincial Congress the 18th May, 1775, to confer and advise with the Commander-in-Chief of the Continental forces in the colony, had been continued by the Convention, and was now engaged in aiding General George Clinton in raising and provisioning the troops and obstructing the navigation of the Hudson. To the letter of the Convention, inviting them immediately to attend its deliberations for the framing of a new government, written on the 12th, reply was made that they were informed by Clinton that their services in the Secret Committee could not be dispensed with.

On the 28th August, by a resolution which declared the defenseless town of Harlem liable to surprise by a small body of men from the enemy's ships of war in the Sound and the situation of their army on Long Island, the Convention adjourned to Fishkill, in Dutchess County, whither the treasure and records were immediately removed, and a Committee of Safety was appointed for the interim.

On the 5th September the Convention resumed its sittings at the Episcopal Church in Fishkill, but it was found to be "so foul with the dung of doves and fowls, and so uncomfortable without any benches, seats or other conveniences," that an immediate adjournment was made to the Dutch Church. The reason of this condition of the Episcopal Church is easily found. The clergy, holding their offices by the

Establishment of which the King was the head, had almost without exception ceased to hold services, and in many instances had withdrawn from their charge. The sessions of the Convention at Fishkill were held in constant fear of surprise, to guard against which on the 12th October a supply of arms and ammunition was ordered for self-protection.

In the fall and winter of 1776–1777 the country was ravaged by the smallpox, the curse of the last century. The army in Canada had been decimated by it, and it had made its appearance in all the larger cities, where inoculation was as yet powerless to check its spread, owing in part doubtless to the general dread of even the milder form of the disease. In January, 1777, the epidemic reached Fishkill, and great alarm was felt that it would be communicated to the barracks. On the 25th the Convention resolved to move again, and on the 11th February adjourned to Kingston, in Ulster County, where they met on the 6th of March. The quarters taken by them here were not much more convenient than those they had left. Kingston, though at this period the third town in the State, was infested by a dangerous population. The prisoners were confined here. The very room in the Court House, in which the Convention sat, was directly over the jail, the nauseous and disagreeable effluvia arising from which caused the introduction of a resolution allowing members to smoke in self-defence until the jail could be cleared and the prisoners removed. During all the intervals of session the affairs of the State were managed by the Committee of Safety chosen by the Convention.

Some of the reasons for delay in the draft of a constitution have been mentioned. The principal one, however, seems to have been the varied and important service demanded of Mr. Jay, the chairman of the committee to whom it had been assigned. Mr. Jay, although at this period only thirty-one years of age, had proved himself the equal of the wisest of the prudent, intelligent men to whom the colonies had cheerfully intrusted their destinies. Bred to the bar, and by the nature of his even, well-tempered mind, as well as careful training, fitted for trusts where not only manly courage but serene judgment were required, he had already made an enduring mark in his address to the people of Great Britain, by universal acknowledgement the ablest of the papers of the First Continental Congress, of 1774. He was now not only a member of the Continental Congress, of which he was, with Robert Morris, a member of the Secret Committee of Correspondence charged with the foreign relations, but he had also been appointed chairman of a "Committee to detect and defeat conspiracies against the liberties of

America," a body to which formidable and almost unlimited powers were intrusted; it was authorized to draw upon the treasury, enforce secrecy, and to raise a special force to execute their commands.

Notwithstanding these varied duties the pen of Mr. Jay was again called into service, and in December he drafted an address of the people of New York to their constituents, which his son, Mr. William Jay, in his life of his illustrious sire, describes as the most animated and thrilling that ever flowed from his pen. It was signed by the President of the Convention and promulgated on the 23d December. This paper is marked by the severity and dignity of style which belonged to the time, and illustrated by references to biblical and classical history after the fashion of the day. In its compactness of thought and conciseness of expression it has scarcely an equal among the State papers of the period. This address was widely circulated in pamphlet form. Congress, on the 16th January, acknowledged its receipt, and informed the New York Convention that it contained sentiments highly and generally interesting to the inhabitants of the United States, to whose serious perusal and attention it was earnestly recommended, and ordered that it be translated into the German language and printed at the expense of the colonies.

The contemporaneous record of the proceedings of the Convention is extremely meagre, and recently printed diaries have added nothing to it. Those were days of action. Men lived apart from their families amid the dangers of war and disease, and found little time for correspondence except of a public nature, and of this the vicissitudes and migrations of the members both of the Continental Congress and the Convention have left few remains. Not half a dozen letters of Jay of this period have been printed; of Gouverneur Morris not so many. Of the constitution of the State of New York, Sparks says that there was a party in favor of postponing it, and that Jay was probably of that opinion; but we find nothing in the record or in any published correspondence to support this view. It is true that the dissensions in Pennsylvania with regard to their constitution were a source of alarm to Congress, and had led to a feeling in that body that the general interests of the country would have been promoted by a delay in the establishment by New York of the new form of State government. But these dilatory views were not laid before the Convention of New York until after its constitution had been adopted, and cannot therefore be held to have influenced its action. Chancellor Kent, in his discourse already referred to, states that the Constitution was in the handwriting of Jay, and that it was

reported by Duane, and that they, together with Gouverneur Morris and Robert R. Livingston, were probably among the most efficient professional members of the Convention in the producing of the instrument. Mr. Gulian C. Verplanck, an authority no less distinguished, asserted in his address before Columbia College in 1830 that Mr. Jay "drafted and in effect himself formed the instrument under which the State of New York lived for forty-five years, which still formed the basis of our present State government, and from which other States have since borrowed many of its more remarkable and original provisions."

Before entering upon a consideration of the instrument thus recommended to the Convention as the basis of the new jurisprudence of the State, it will be well to examine the form of government in the New York colony prior to the overthrow of the King's authority. Mr. O'Conor, in his address before the New York Historical Society upon "The Constitutions,"—in commemoration of the centennial anniversary of the adoption of the constitution of the State—wisely observed that undoubtedly the best and freest constitution for its own creators that any people had ever enjoyed before 1776 was that of England, and he added that even then "there still remained deeply seated in the American heart an almost boundless admiration of all English institutions that were either compatible with perfect equality and religious freedom or that it seemed possible to mould into harmony with them." History bears out the truth of this observation. Nowhere can stronger proof of it be found than in the concise and admirable declaration contained in the petition addressed to the King by the General Assembly of New York on the 18th October, 1764, just prior to the passage of the Stamp Act. This document stated:

"That His Majesty's royal predecessors, sensible that the subject by the laws of our happy constitution carries with him his allegiance to the most distant corners of the earth, and that the protection of his constitutional rights and privileges is the true reason of that allegiance, not only authorized the emigration of their subjects, but acquiesced in the transfer of those rights and privileges to this distant part of your dominions, to be enjoyed by them on the same tenure of subjection by which they held them at home.

"That hence so soon after the first planting of this colony as in the year 1683, a political frame was erected in the nearest possible resemblance to that of our mother country, of which the constituent parts were a governor and council in the royal appointment, and a representation of the people by their own free election.

"That in these three branches was lodged the legislative authority of the colony, and particularly the power of taxing its inhabitants for the support of the Government. And in the uninterrupted enjoyment of this constitution has Your Majesty's colony of New York continued from that period down to the present day."

It will be observed how closely the Convention, in its resolution of the 16th August, adhered to the very words of this declaration of 1764 of the reciprocal rights and duties of the State and its citizens, and of the nature of allegiance and protection.

On the 13th March, 1777, the order of the day being read, the Convention proceeded to the consideration of the report of the committee, and it was read. It was again read by clauses; when, after the reading of the first clause, Mr. Morris displayed the independence and eccentricity of his character by demanding leave that each member who should dissent with his county on any section of the plan should have leave to enter his dissent and reasons therefor on the minutes, but his motion was overruled by a large majority. The instrument was then debated by clauses. The first section, declaring that no authority shall on any pretense whatever be exercised over the people or members of this State but such as shall be derived from and granted by them, was unanimously agreed to.

The section vesting the supreme legislative power in two separate and distinct bodies of men—the one the Assembly, the other the Senate—was subject of debate. Mr. Morris moved to amend the section so as to include the Governor, that he might have power to give assent or dissent to any law, but none to originate or amend. On motion of Mr. Duane the discussion was postponed till the next day, when Mr. Morris's amendment was carried by a large majority. On the 1st April Mr. Jay moved a reconsideration of this vote, which was amended by a proposition of Robert R. Livingston, making the Governor, Judge and Chancellor a check upon every bill. This plan arranged for a review by them acting in Council of revision, with power to them to return the same to the Senate with their objection, when if two-thirds of them on reconsideration adhered to their vote it should be, with the objection, sent down to the General Assembly to be by them reconsidered, and if approved by two-thirds become a law. A second paragraph provided against any unnecessary delay by declaring that any bill should become a law if not returned by the Council to the Senate within ten days, unless the Legislature should have adjourned in the meanwhile, when it should be returned within the first ten days of the

next session. This amendment was carried by a vote of 31 to 4, and the Council established. This it will be seen conferred but small power upon the Executive, an office which the abuses of the colonial Governors had brought into extreme distrust. A Governor to be chosen by a majority of the freeholders, to hold office for three years, to command the army and navy, to convene and prorogue the Legislature, and under certain restrictions to grant reprieves and pardons to persons convicted of crimes other than treason or murder, in which he had power of suspension of sentence until the Legislature should direct execution or grant further reprieve. A Lieutenant-Governor was provided for, to be elected at the same time as the Governor, who should be President of the Senate. The upper House to consist of twenty-four Senators, freeholders chosen by freeholders possessed of a freehold of the value of £100; to be elected for four years, and divided by lot into four classes, six in each class, who should go out annually in turn according to their numbers, so that the fourth part of the Senate be chosen annually. Their election was arranged to be by the freeholders of four great districts, the southern, middle, eastern and western, in proportion to their population. When this section was debated, endeavors were made on the one hand to reduce the districts to one, which would have elected the Senators by general vote, and on the other to increase them to fourteen, which would make the body more popular, but both amendments were rejected by a large majority. Other proposals of change met the same fate. It was also provided that the number of the Senate should never exceed one hundred. Here is noted the beginning of that difference of opinion as to the proper basis and extent of representation which culminated in the hot debates over the adoption of the United States Constitution and the triumph of the Federal party in 1789.

The lower house to consist of at least seventy members, to be annually elected by the freeholders of the several counties possessing a freehold to the amount of £20 or having rented a tenement therein of the yearly value of 40 shillings; this Assembly to choose its own Speaker and enjoy the same privileges "as the Assembly of New York *of right* formerly did"; the Assembly never to exceed three hundred members. The provision concerning those who had rented tenements was introduced by Robert R. Livingston and seconded by Gouverneur Morris. Both of these gentlemen represented great landed estates, with a large and increasing tenantry. On the final vote of 33, the only negatives, 8 in number, came from the representatives of the county of New York. An amendment offered by Mr. Morris, extending the franchise to all freemen of

the city of Albany, and all who were made freemen of the city of New York before the 14th October, 1775, which was incorporated, seems to have disposed of the objections to this clause.

The mode of voting was a matter of considerable debate, and indeed it had been for sometime a matter of dispute in the city of New York, where the popular party was strong. Among the curious handbills in the collection of the New York Historical Society are two which show the strength of the feeling which prevailed before the Revolution with regard to the open and secret ballot. One dated January 4, 1770, and signed by several of the most distinguished citizens, among whom Beekman, Alsop, Ludlow, Bache, Lawrence and Laight, calls a meeting at the Merchants' Coffee House to inform the city representatives in the Assembly that the reports circulated that "voters had been intimidated at elections were void of foundation," and that "they (the subscribers) were not to be prevented by any motives whatever from daring and choosing to speak their minds freely and openly, to do which at all times is their *birthright* as *Englishmen* and their glory as *Americans*." On the other hand, an advertisement appeared the next day informing those who were inclined to sign petitions to the Assembly, praying it to pass a law to elect the representatives by *ballot*, could find them at various public houses, the resort of the Liberty Boys, and that the petitions would be cared for by Walter Franklin and Isaac Sears, both leaders of the popular party. The feeling in favor of a secret ballot must have gained ground even with the conservative party, as the original draft of the constitution contained such a provision. When this section came up, however, the words "by ballot" were struck out on a motion of Gouverneur Morris by a vote of 18 to 12; but some days later Mr. Jay, with his usual tenacity, moved a substitute for the paragraph amended by Mr. Morris, which, finally adopted by a vote of 33 to 3, ordered that as soon as practicable after the war all elections should be by ballot, while it left it within the power of a two-thirds vote of the Legislature, at any time after a full and fair experiment of the vote by ballot, to return to the practice of the *viva-voce* vote. As a large land-holder Mr. Morris was loath to part with the influence which the open vote upon the English plan naturally exerted on his extensive tenantry. Those who have read his letter to Penn, describing the scene which occurred in New York in 1774 on the appointment of the Committee of Correspondence, will understand his disposition to control the electoral franchise. In that letter he expresses his fear of "mob government."

The judicial system cannot be better described than in the eloquent words of Mr. O'Conor on the occasion already alluded to. "Local courts and a probate judiciary were instituted, as well as a superintending common law tribunal carried the Supreme Court side by side with chancery to mitigate the rigor of its form and supply its deficiencies. All these were patterned after the English judicial system; nor was its crowning feature overlooked. The only State organism that bore any shadow of resemblance to the English House of Peers was the Senate; and there, in the closest imitation of our parent State, the constitution enthroned the supreme judicial power with final appellate jurisdiction in law and equity. Grace and majesty shone forth in the copy as in the original." The law was declared to be such parts of the common law of England and of the statute law of England and Great Britain, and of the acts of the colony as were in force the 19th April, 1775. It will be observed that the day of the first military attack of Great Britain upon American liberties at Lexington was here selected.

The question of religious toleration was a subject of difference of opinion and of sharp discussion. When the paragraph was read declaring that "the free toleration of religious profession and worship without discrimination or preference shall forever hereafter be allowed within the State to all mankind," Mr. Jay moved to "except the professors of the religion of the Church of Rome until they should take oath that they verily believed that no Pope, priest or foreign authority hath power to absolve the subjects of the State from allegiance, and unless they renounce the false, wicked and damnable doctrine that the Pope has power to absolve men from sins." The journals recite that there was long debate thereon, but to the everlasting credit of the Convention and the State the amendment was rejected by a vote of 19 to 10, New York County, to her honor, casting 8 of her 10 votes against the intolerant measure. Robert R. Livingston the next day moved as a proviso "that this toleration shall not extend to justify the professors of any religion in disturbing the peace or violating the laws of this State," but the Convention would not hear to the change. Mr. Jay then offered a proviso "that the liberty of conscience hereby granted shall not be construed to encourage licentiousness or be used in such manner as to disturb or endanger the safety of the State." Morris was too clear-sighted not to see that this restriction was practically the same as that offered previously, and called the yeas and nays upon it, but the Convention in their regard for Jay decided that it was not the same in substance and adopted the amendment. At a later period in the debate,

on motion of Morris, some modification was made and the proviso altered to read; "that the liberty of conscience hereby granted shall not be so construed as to excuse acts of licentiousness or justify practices inconsistent with the safety of the State." No religious belief could therefore be pleaded in defence of illegal actions.

The discussion of the article relating to the naturalization of persons coming into the State offered an occasion for the renewal of this debate in another form. The original paragraph left it in the discretion of the Legislature to naturalize in such manner as they should think proper, provided that all such of the persons, so to be by them naturalized as "being born beyond sea and out of the United States of America, who shall come to settle in and become subjects of the State," shall take an oath of allegiance to the State. This clause offering an opportunity to reach the restriction against Papists, defeated in the clause granting religious toleration, Mr. Jay, true to his Huguenot instincts, moved an additional proviso, that all such persons shall abjure and renounce all allegiance and subjection to all and every foreign king, prince, potentate and State in all matters *ecclesiastic* as well as civil. Morris moved to strike out the words "and subjection," but was overruled, and indeed his alteration can hardly be considered to have any practical bearing. In considering the motives of each it must not be forgotten that under the English rule Papists had been not only under civil disabilities, but that they were also forbidden the exercise of their religion. The door was now to be thrown wide open. During the debate Mr. Jay moved a resolution "that nothing in the clauses should be construed to interfere with the connections between the Dutch congregations and the Classis and Synods of Holland, or to discontinue the innocent connections which non-Episcopalian congregations in this State have heretofore maintained with their respective mother churches in Europe, or to interfere in any of the rights of the Episcopalian churches now in this State, except such as involve a foreign subjection." The Convention rejected the amendments by a large majority. Their determined purpose in no manner to recognize in the constitution any religious distinction was everywhere apparent. A paragraph, excluding all ministers of the gospel from office, civil or military, was adopted without debate. This is the first instance on record of complete religious toleration, and of an absolute separation of Church from State.

Trial by jury was declared to be forever inviolate. No acts of attainder to be passed after the war was terminated, and no acts should work "corruption of blood." This last was on Mr. Jay's motion.

Efforts were made to replace unanimity in the verdicts of juries by a three-fourths agreement, but were defeated by a large majority.

A militia service was ordained, and Quakers excused on payment of a sum of money, to be estimated by the State, in lieu of personal service.

A clause provided for the protection of Indians within the State limits. This also was due to the benevolent spirit of Mr. Jay.

The name of Jay is indissolubly connected with the abolition of slavery in this State, but to Gouverneur Morris belongs the honor of having been the first to introduce a recommendation "to the future Legislatures of the State to take the most effectual measures, consistent with the public safety and private property of individuals, for abolishing domestic slavery within the same, so that in future ages every human being who breathes the air of this State shall enjoy the privileges of a freeman." The resolution was adopted by a vote of 24 to 8. The next day a preamble, declaring it "inexpedient to proceed to the liberating of slaves within the State in the present situation thereof," was carried; but when the preamble and paragraph were read together, Mr. Robert R. Livingston moved the previous question, and the merciful recommendation proposed by Mr. Morris was defeated. Mr. Jay does not appear to have been present during the debate on this clause.

The day after (Sunday, the 20th April) the constitution or plan of government, as amended and completed, was read throughout, and was agreed to by every member present except Colonel Peter R. Livingston, of Albany, who desired his dissent to be entered on the minutes.

Such was the constitution which subsisted without material change until 1846. In it will be found the main features later adopted in the present Constitution of the United States by and for the people of the United States. A committee, composed of Robert R. Livingston, John Morin Scott, Abraham Yates, John Jay, and John Sloss Hobart, was immediately appointed to prepare and report a plan for organizing and establishing the government agreed to by the Convention.

On the 8th May provision was made for a Council of Safety of fifteen, who were invested with all the powers necessary for the safety and preservation of the State, until a meeting of the Legislature should be held. They were charged with the administration of the oath of office to the Governor as soon as he should be chosen, when he was at once to enter upon his executive power. The Sheriffs were directed to hold elections in the several counties, and return the poll-lists to the Council of Safety, who should administer the oaths of office, and the Legislature was summoned to meet at Kingston on the 1st July.

On the 13th May Philip Schuyler, Philip Livingston, James Duane, William Duer and Gouverneur Morris were chosen by the Convention as delegates to represent and give the vote of the State in the Congress of the United States, and the Convention dissolved.

It is admirable to observe the serene dignity preserved in the debates of this body from its beginning to its close, a period during which every county in the State was at some time invaded by the enemy. The stern stuff of which this representative body was composed, may be judged by the number of its members who were alternately in their seats or with their regiments in the field. Their first President, Brigadier-General Woodhull, lost his life in an effort to carry out an order of the Convention to save the stock in Suffolk county after the defeat of Long Island.

On the 9th July the poll-lists and ballots were examined, when it was found that the number of votes for Senators was in the western districts 7,017; in the middle districts, 6,162. The vote in the eastern district does not appear on the record. The inhabitants of this section, which was known as the New Hampshire Grants, were endeavoring to set up a separate State government, and had in many places declined to vote. The southern district, being in possession of the enemy, could not vote, but the ordinance of May 6th had provided for their representation by appointment.

There do not seem to have been any set nominations. Forty-one candidates were voted for in the western and twenty-seven in the middle districts. Only a fragment of the official returns of the vote for Governor remains. By it we learn that the candidates were George Clinton, John Morin Scott, Philip Schuyler, John Jay, Philip Livingston and Robert R. Livingston.

George Clinton was elected both Governor and Lieutenant-Governor. Holding the commission of general, he was at this time in charge of Fort Montgomery, on the Hudson, upon which a sudden attack was, from information given by deserters, hourly expected. He wrote on the 11th accepting, though with marked reluctance, the trust imposed upon him. The duties of his post still detaining him, the Council of Safety on the 21st, not feeling justified in longer holding the powers vested in them, passed a resolution earnestly requesting him to appear before them and take the oath of office. The council having on the 16th summoned the Legislature to meet at Kingston on the 1st August, Clinton could make no further postponement, and on the 31st July he, in the rooms of the Council of Safety, took the oath prescribed, and

in the evening, in the presence of a large concourse of citizens, two companies of militia attending, he was by the President of the Council proclaimed Governor, General and Commander-in-Chief of all the militia and Admiral of the Navy of the State. We can imagine the thrilling scene, when the brave soldier, fresh from his command, which he still insisted on retaining notwithstanding his new honors, appeared before the people of the State of whom he was the favored son. His career, his long service in the council and the field fully justified the popular confidence. As has been said of him by one who knew him well, "he had a boldness and inflexibility of purpose and decision and simplicity of character which resembled those of the hardy sons of antiquity in the best days of Roman freedom, when the sages and heroes displayed the majestic port and stern defiance of the 'lords of human kind.'" John Holt, the patriotic printer, was ordered to strike off 500 copies of the proclamation, to which was affixed the novel phrase, "God save the people."

The Legislature did not meet again until the 9th of September, being prorogued from time to time by the Governor. In his first message Clinton gave as the reason for his delay the "invasion of the State on the northern and western frontier and the prospect of an attack by General Howe on the fortress in the Highlands."

The Court House, in which the Convention which adopted the constitution sat, was burned by the British during Vaughan's raid on the river counties, and no view of it is known to the writer. The Senate met for a short time in a building which, somewhat altered, is still standing on the corner of Clinton Avenue and North Front Street, Kingston. It was later occupied by General Armstong of revolutionary fame, and is now in the possession of Frederick E. Westbrooke. It is known as the Senate House. In it the new government, however, met under favorable auspices. In the words of the Governor in his opening address, the cloud which hung over the State seemed to be in a great measure dispelled, and there were reasons to expect a happy issue of the campaign. The Mohawk Valley had been preserved by the bravery of the garrison of Fort Schuyler and the intrepidity of the gallant Herkimer. Stark had utterly routed the left wing of the British, and the rapid rally of the militia to the support of Gates was already threatening the early destruction of Burgoyne's army. The clouds which hung over the State still lowered for a time, but finally dissolved beneath the glorious sun which, bursting over the plains of Saratoga, cheered and illumined the continent.

JOHN AUSTIN STEVENS

expedition of Magellan, of which he was the historiographer. Amongst those less known was the learned priest and mathematician, Albert De Prato, the friend and correspondent of Cardinal Wolsey. Verrazano shed permanent lustre upon his nation by his exploration of the north Atlantic coast. The first tourist to visit and describe this country was Benzoni, also an Italian; and the Venitian, Ramusio, taught our own great Hakluyt how to record and treasure up the achievements of explorers and navigators for the benefit of mankind. Purchas gives his quaint testimony on this point, exclaiming: "Happy Italy, that first, in the last Age of the World hath discouered the great Discouerers of the World." Yet what benefit has Italy derived from all these toils? The largest tribute received from America is found in the aspersion of her citizens, and, notably, those of her fairest and most enlightened Capital. Well may Purchas turn to present the obverse of the picture, and say: "Unhappie Italy, that still hath beaten the bush for others to catch the Bird, and hast inherited nothing in these Easterne and Westerne Worlds." (V. 807.)

The present paper, however, is devoted, not to the Italian sailors, but to a work by one who sought to register the achievements of his compatriots in an enduring form. The Globe of Euphrosynus Vlpius, constructed in 1542, is now preserved in the museum of the New York Historical Society, having been found in Madrid by the late Buckingham Smith. This important and deeply interesting instrument was discovered in the collections of a Spanish dealer in 1859, and brought to New York the same year, after the death of its owner, being purchased for the society by the late John David Wolfe.

This globe is fifteen and one half inches in diameter, and is supported upon a worm-eaten stand of oak, the iron cross tipping the north pole, making the height of the instrument three feet and eight inches. The northern and southern hemispheres were constructed separately. They shut together like a spherical box, being held firmly by iron pins. Everything is done in accordance with the best science of the age, and proves that the globe was intended for careful use. The latitudes are found by the nicely graduated copper equator, upon which the names of the zodiacal signs are engraved; while the equatorial line of the globe itself has the longitude divided into sections covering five degrees each. Four distinct meridional lines divide the globe into quarters, while four more lines are faintly indicated. The latitudes are found by the aid of a brass meridian, the Tropic of Cancer being called ÆSTIVVS, and Capricorn, HYEMALIS. The Arctic and Antarctic circles are also faintly

THE GLOBE OF VLPIUS

The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, with the Italian people, were regarded in many respects as palmy days. At that flourishing period many of the sons of Italy proved themselves worthy of their noble origin; and as the ancient Romans built highways of marvelous magnitude upon the land, the modern Italians opened the distant paths of the sea. Columbus was inspired by the spirit of Cæsar, though while the one conquered with the astrolabe and compass, the other prevailed with the sword. America does not recognize the debt which she owes to the pent up cities of the Italian peninsula, whose inhabitants, inspired by an irrepressible ardor, went forth to transform what was a "Sea of Darkness" into a Sea of Light. The desire to abolish *Ultima Thule*, and make good the prophecy of Seneca, animated all classes of society. Even the monk in his cloister labored to furnish the sailor with the best aids that nautical and geographical science could supply. Andrea Bianco gave his charts with reminiscences of long-forgotten voyages, and Toscanelli added to other gifts conferred by him upon Columbus reasons for believing that the east could be reached by sailing west. At an early period the Genoese sent out expeditions upon the Atlantic (Gravier's "*Navigations Européennes*," etc., p. 5), but for the most part the Italian navigators engaged in the service of nations more favorably situated for the conduct of maritime enterprise. Amongst others, Marco Polo, Ordericus and Vertomanus distinguished themselves in the east, while in the year 1380 the Zeno Brothers were wrecked in the northern sea, Antonio Zeno himself, as the best authorities now admit, reaching Greenland and the coast of North America. It remained, however, for Columbus to impart a practical value to the labors of his predecessors, though Amerigo Vespucci was immortalized by the Monks of St. Dié, who gave his name to our continent, saying, that since the old continents were named after women, the new one should be called after a man.

While Columbus was active, John Cabot, the Venitian, and his son Sebastian, were pursuing the same absorbing objects, the elder Cabot, indeed, having seen the mainland of America before Columbus. Other Italians performed their part, Pigafetti sailing around the world in the

expedition of Magellan, of which he was the historiographer. Amongst those less known was the learned priest and mathematician, Albert De Prato, the friend and correspondent of Cardinal Wolsey. Verrazano shed permanent lustre upon his nation by his exploration of the north Atlantic coast. The first tourist to visit and describe this country was Benzoni, also an Italian; and the Venitian, Ramusio, taught our own great Hakluyt how to record and treasure up the achievements of explorers and navigators for the benefit of mankind. Purchas gives his quaint testimony on this point, exclaiming: "Happy Italy, that first, in the last Age of the World hath discouered the great Discouerers of the World." Yet what benefit has Italy derived from all these toils? The largest tribute received from America is found in the aspersion of her citizens, and, notably, those of her fairest and most enlightened Capital. Well may Purchas turn to present the obverse of the picture, and say: "Unhappie Italy, that still hath beaten the bush for others to catch the Bird, and hast inherited nothing in these Easterne and Westerne Worlds." (V. 807.)

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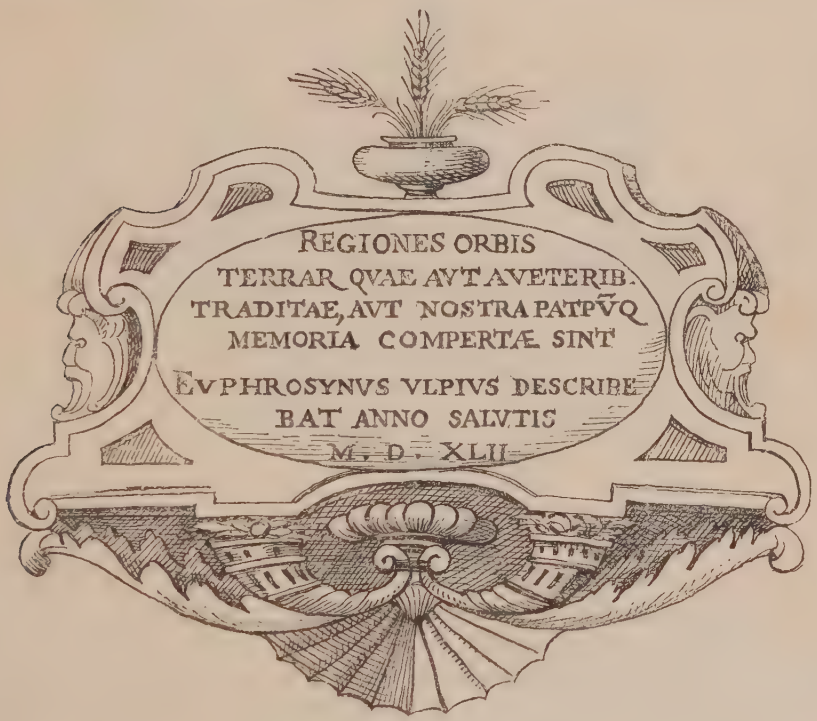
indicated. A brass hour-circle enables the student to ascertain the difference of time between any two given points, while the graduated path of the Ecliptic is a prominent and indispensable aid. The author of the globe evidently intended to secure simplicity of arrangement throughout. The date of the globe is fixed by the following inscription:



The literal translation runs as follows: "Regions of the Terrestrial globe handed down by ancients, or discovered in our memory or that of our fathers. Delineated by Euphrosynus Vlpius, 1542."

Of Vlpius nothing is positively known. The name has no prominence amongst the map and globe makers of Italy. The resemblance of the globe to that planned by Mercator, 1541, taken with the fact that Mercator and the Italian, Moletius, were in a sense associated, might possibly lead us to inquire whether or not Moletius had any influence in connection with the production of the work of Vlpius. Hakluyt's reference to "an olde excellent globe in the Queen's privie gallery at Westminster," which "seemeth to be of Verarsanus makinge" (Maine Coll. s. 2. v. II. p. 114), is also of interest, for, like the globe of Vlpius,

it had "the Coaste described in Italian," and a "necke of lande in the latitude of 40." Possibly the Globe of Vlpius is the globe which is here described. Nevertheless, the globe is of Italian workmanship, and apparently made in Rome. It is dedicated to Cervinus:

This may be rendered: "Marcellus Cervino, Cardinal-Presbyter and Doctor of Divinity of the Holy Roman Church. Rome." The wheat or barley heads appear to have formed a device in the family arms, as they are given with his portrait, while the Deer form a proper allusion to his name.

The present representation of one hemisphere of the globe, without being a *fac simile*, is nevertheless sufficiently correct for historical purposes, and may be relied upon. The Old and New Worlds are represented as they were known at the time, the latitude of Florida, which was too high on the Verrazano Map, being given quite correctly, while the excessive easterly trend of the North American coast line on that map is corrected.

This work is of great historical interest, for the reason that it bears direct and independent testimony to the Voyage of Verrazano in 1524, certified first by the Letter of Verrazano to Francis I., confirmed by Carli, and attested by the Map of Hieronimo da Verrazano; this witness being followed by the author of the Discourse of the Dieppe

Captain, in 1539. Vlpius, in 1542, stands as the fifth witness to the voyage by the following inscription: "*Verrazana sive Nova Gallia a Verrazano Florentino comperto anno Sal. M. D.;* which may be rendered: "Verrazana or New Gaul, discovered by Verrazano, the Florentine, in the year of Salvation, M. D." That this inscription was suggested by the Verrazano Map no one has ever questioned. The principal adverse critic of Verrazano frankly concedes that the Globe of Vlpius "affords indubitable evidence that the maker had consulted the map." (Murphy's "Verrazzano," p. 114.) Nevertheless attention has been called to the fact that, in an appendix to his work, the same critic refers to what is called an "authority," which says that the Map of Verrazano was originated sometime after 1550. If this were so, it would appear that the Verrazano Map was based upon the Globe of Vlpius in connection with certain maps, and that, instead of having influenced the production of other maps, it is itself a composition made up of early material. We are, therefore, obliged here to glance at a question which really answers itself.

The declaration is: "We are assured from Rome, on high authority, that this map appears to belong to a period subsequent to 1550, and is regarded by its custodians as only a copy at the best." (Murphy's "Verrazzano," Appendix.) Here are two statements; First, that the map appears to belong to a period subsequent to 1550—otherwise, that it originated then; Second, that, at the best, it is only a copy. With regard to the first proposition it may be said, that an examination of the map reveals the fact that it shows no exploration of a period later than 1529, while it affords a fair picture of discovery down to that year. If, therefore, this map was planned subsequent to 1550, the author must have intended to produce what would have the appearance of an early map, or otherwise, a fraud. But again, if this map was simply the fraudulent invention of an Italian during the last half of the sixteenth century, it is necessary to inquire how it happens that the draughtsman produced a map patterned after the map described by Hakluyt, as respects size and composition, for both answer to the description of "mightie large" map, and both have the Isthmus, together with the Italian names on the coast of North America.

That the two maps were of the same character, appears from other considerations; for, in whatsoever Hakluyt may have erred, he could not have referred any parchment to Verrazano that did not show decided signs of age. Hakluyt had a full acquaintance with the period of Verrazano, and had learned from Ramusio the approximate

time of his death, which, at the furthest, could not have taken place much later than 1530. He knew the precise character of the maps of 1529, and when he affirmed that the map was "*olde*," he believed that the character of the work justified the statement that it was presented by the Florentine Navigator to Henry VIII. He does not say that the globe was presented to that king, and therefore we can claim for the map alone that it existed some time near the year 1529. Such, then, being the facts, it is simply without reason to say that the Propaganda Map was designed subsequent to 1550, in the interest of a historical fraud. At that period the designs had been in existence a long time, and could not have been produced as part of a fraud. Whoever declares that this map belongs to the late period named must find his claim to be an authority absolutely denied.

Still, perhaps, it may be asked why the Propaganda Map could not have been framed subsequent to 1550, taking the Globe of Vlpius, 1542, as a model, and with an honest intention. This could not have been the case, for the reason that the more recent explorations shown by Vlpius are ignored. Any honest map-maker, projecting a new map, would give discoveries down to his time. If, therefore, the Propaganda Map was based upon the globe, the map as already declared, must be a fraud, and we are again confronted with the question, How did a fraudulent draughtsman frame a map like that in England, with its isthmus and western sea, which Lok in evident recognition of a legend corresponding with the legend of the Propaganda Map, called "Mare de Verrazano"? Again, it would also be necessary to inquire where Vlpius obtained *his* plan. To argue the subject farther is needless, since it is so evident the two maps and two globes are indissolubly connected, the two existing mementoes of the Verrazano Voyage having their counterparts in the map and globe described by Hakluyt in England. The introduction of the "authority" from Rome is, therefore, unfortunate for the objector, since it sugests a line of defence for the Propaganda Map that otherwise might not have been presented. A paleographic commission may pronounce upon the date of the map, basing its opinion upon the character of the chirography; but whatever may be its conclusion, no material point in the Verrazano controversy will probably be affected, since, whether a copy or an original, its value remains, and cannot be lessened without the discovery of some evidence to prove that the copy was not well done. Under the circumstances, however, any commission that undertakes to declare that the map was fraudulently projected at a period subsequent to 1550 for acceptance as

a document of 1529 would stultify itself. The Map of Verrazano antedated the Globe of Vlpius, and the influence of the former upon cartology may not be questioned.

It will be observed that Vlpius does not give the exact date of the discovery by Verrazano, and the fact has led to the suggestion that Marcellus was not able to determine the year. That he tried to learn the exact date there is no proof. The explanation of the omission is sufficiently simple, for the Verrazano Map is undated.

It will doubtless prove of interest to note upon this map the line running from pole to pole and cutting through the border of South America. This is the line drawn by Pope Alexander VI., by which, in 1493, he gave away the New World to Spain. That nation, according to his decree, was entitled to lands discovered by them west of the line, while the Portuguese were to confine their new possessions to the region east of the line, inscribed, "*Terminus Hispanis et Lusitanis ab Alexando VI. P. M. assignatus*," or, "The Boundary of Spain and Portugal assigned by Alexander VI., Supreme Pontiff."

This was done at a time when the Papal power was no shadow, yet the Holy See was often set at naught, and many were the bitter contests that sprang up between the rival powers. From Bernal Diaz we learn that Francis I., communicating with the Emperor of Spain, and speaking of the division made between Spain and Portugal, said "he should like them to show him our father Adam's will, that he might convince himself whether he had really constituted them the sole heirs of these countries." The "will" does not appear to have been produced, and certainly was never probated. Francis, therefore, took the liberty of sending Verrazano and Cartier to North America.

On the North American section of the globe various new points are indicated, and the advance of the Spaniards in New Mexico is noticeable. This part of the continent is called "Verrazana, sive Nova Gallia," while on the Verrazano Map is found, "Ivcatania." Purchas says (V. 807), that South America was called "Peruviana," and North America, "Mexicana;" which explains the action of Hieronimo da Verrazano, who employs the name of Yucatan in accordance with the same principle.

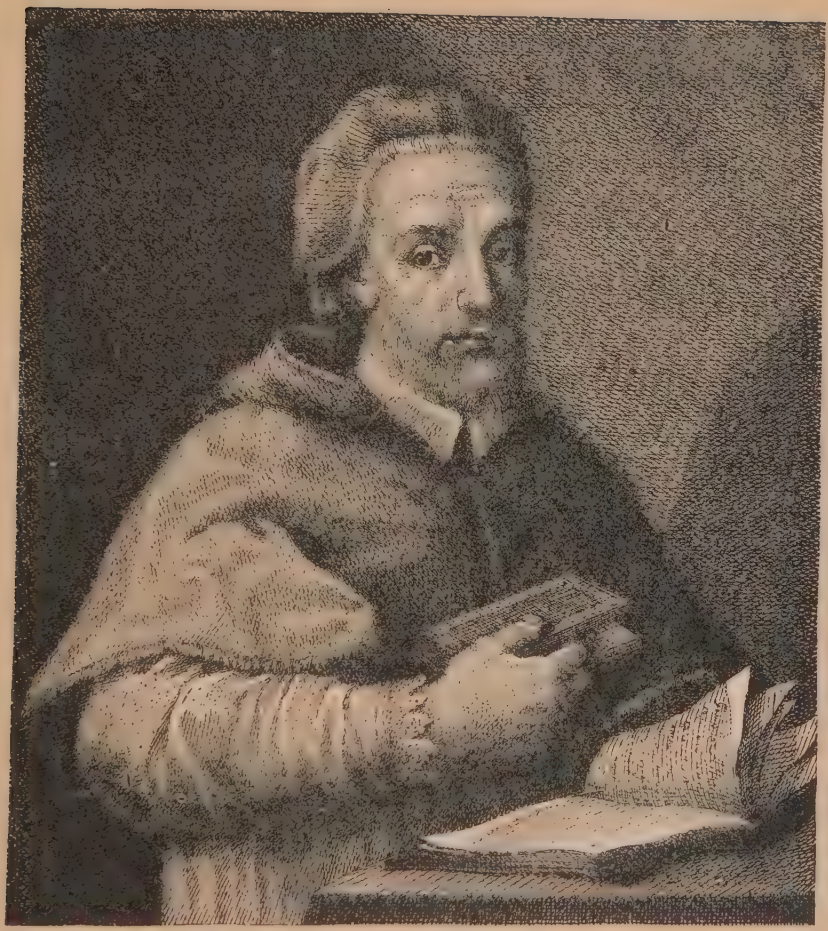
At the northwest, near Alaska, is "Tagv Provincia," the "Tangut" of Marco Polo (C. 58), the coast being joined to Asia. The peninsula of Lower California does not appear, though exploration had been extended to that region, as proved by Domingo del Castello, on his map of 1541. (Lorenzana "*Historia de Nueva España*," 1770, p. 328.)

Amongst the evidences of the Spanish advance is the name of "Civola" in New Mexico. This is a reference to the "Seven Cities of Cibola," which were credited with such vast wealth, it being declared that the houses were supported by massive pillars of crystal and gold. Modern explorers find it difficult to fix upon the sites of the ancient cities. (*Ternaux Compans*; with De Nagerus narrative, 1838; and Hakluyt III., 362.) The wealth of Cibola eventually became the subject of sport, as was the case respecting the whole continent, at first supposed to be a part of the East Indies, and remarkably auriferous. Hence Shakespere, in the Comedy of Errors, where he grossly describes the kitchen-wench, who was "spherical like a globe," so that one could "find out countries in her," makes Antipolus ask: "Where America, the Indies?" Dromio of Syracuse replies: "O, Sir, upon her nose, all o'er embellished with rubies, carbuncles, sapphires, declining their rich aspect to the hot breath of Spain, who sent whole Armadas of Carracks to be ballast at her nose." (A. III. s. 2.)

Nova Galitia, a region conquered by Gusman (Alcedo's "*Diccionario Geográfico*," II. 177), is seen to the southward; and, in its proper place, in the middle of a lake, the city of Mexico may be recognized. South America is styled "Novvs Mvndus," and presents a very lively picture. From the Straits of Magellan to Chinca, just north of the Tropic of Capricorn, the coast is marked "Terra Incognita." Peru is called New Castile, and is said to be auriferous and fertile. "Gvito," or Quito, happens to be placed nearly in the centre of the continent, and close by we read, "*Domus olim ex solido auri*," or, The House formerly of solid gold. This may be a reference to El Dorado.

A large portion of the country is abandoned to "Anthropophagi" and "Canibales." Near Patagonia is the "Terra de giganti." The giants themselves are wanting, like Ralegh's men with heads in their breasts, notwithstanding we are told by Pigafetti and other voyagers that there was a plenty of giants in those days; yet, further north, the chamelon roost upon a broad-leaved plant, and still higher up, one of the tall ostriches, recently described by Darwin, is trying to exhibit himself, using as a pedestal the house formerly of solid gold.

In Brazil the aborigines appear in the scant wardrobe which they were accustomed to affect, and display, on the whole, what may be regarded as an animated disposition. A couple of Brazilians, broad ax in hand, are on the point of taking off a fellow being's head, while a third, with a knife, is artistically dressing a leg. Near by, two other amiable representatives of the tribe are engaged in turning a huge spit,



MARCELLO II. CERVINI SOMMO PONTEFICE
ORIGINARIO DI MONTE PULCIANO, E NOBILE
SENESE, SOGGETTO DI SOMMA PRUDENZA,
DOTTRINA, E BONTÀ PREGIATO.

Nacque il dì 6. Maggio MDI. morì dopo 22. giorni di Pontificato nel dì primo. Maggio MDLV.

Dedicato al merito Singolare dell' Illmo: e Rmo: Monsignore Alessandro De Conti Cervini Patrizio Senese, Conte del Vivo Arcivescovo di Siena &c &c. e Agnato del Sud.° Pontefice.

Preso da un Quadro esistente presso gl' Illmi. Sigg.ri Conti Cervini di Siena.

Gaet.o Vasellli. del.o Scol.a

upon which, comfortably trussed up, is another superfluous neighbor, whom the blazing fire is transmuting into an acceptable roast. The parrot, evidently an edified spectator, gazes placidly down from its perch in the tree. Such was life in Novvs Mvndvs in 1542. The Amazon and the La Platta Rivers appear, but Vlpius does not show any clear knowledge of the Orinoco seen by Pinzon.

No true indication of the terminus of the continent is given, but south of the Straits of Magellan is seen a vast continent spreading around the pole. This imaginary continent was referred to in classic times as "*Austrinis Pars.*" (*Manilus "Astronomica,"* B. I. l. 234.) Its existence was considered probable, for the reason that it seemed to be required in order to maintain the balance of land and water. "*Regio Patalis,*" a part of this continent, lies southwesterly from the Straits of Magellan, the name perhaps having been transferrred from the coast of Africa.

In the more easterly portion of this continent is written, "*Terra Australis adhuc incomperta,*" being an unexplored region, while in passing around the border of this continent we come to "Brasieeli," a corruption of "Brazil," a name applied to an island in the Atlantic before the discovery of America. On the Globe of Schoner, 1520, it is called "Brazilia Inferior."

On a peninsula, a part of which appears in our representation of the globe, may be found the following inscription: "Lusitani vltra promotorium bone spei i Calicutium tendentes hanc terra viderut, veru non accesserut, quaobrem neq nos certi quidq afferre potuimus;" "The Portuguese, sailing beyond the Cape of Good Hope to Calcutta, saw this land but did not reach it, wherefore, neither have we been able to assert anything with certainty."

The Old World is depicted substantially as it appeared in the Ptolemies. With respect to the East Indies, a clear improvement is made upon the Verrazano Map. Vlpius, in common with Verrazano, exhibits the great lakes of Central Africa, recently rediscovered.

Near the bank of the Nile a robed ecclesiastic sits upon a canopied throne with a triple crown upon his brow and a triple cross in his hand. The figure is explained by the legend, "*Hic dñat psbit Johanes,*" or "Here rules Presbyter John," usually called "Prester." Of human subjects he appears to have none, and his lordly supremacy seems to concern the sagacious elephant, the winged dragon, the scaly crocodile, the fierce rhinoceros, the unruly hippopotamus, and certain long-necked birds, one of which is engaged in some performance not described by

Herodotus. Prester John has been regarded as a king in Thibet, but the Portuguese claim that he was a convert to the Nestorian faith in Abyssinia. (Purchas, V. 734.)

In Asia may be seen a multitude of cities and provinces. Canton is figured as a collection of houses, near which is a bird, in company with a couple of goats with ears that reach to the ground. A tiger, a leopard and a giraffe exhaust the animal kingdom.

Upon the ocean all is life, animation and enterprise. Tall ships, laden with the wealth of "Ormus and of Ind," move bravely homeward with bellying sails, while light galleys glide gaily hither and thither around the borders of the newly found lands. The fish form a noticeable feature, and Leviathan displays his huge sides, even that

> "Leviathan, which God of all His works
> Created hugest, that swim the ocean stream."

The Conger eel, without much regard to the proprieties, stretches complacently over several degrees of latitude, herein following the example of the gold fish (*Aurata*), which puffs itself up to half the size of the whale. The Kraken of Pontoppidan, or at least what resembles the sea-serpent of Nahant, appears in the Atlantic off South Africa, corrugating his hirsute back. Vlpius, like Mr. Waterhouse Hawkins, may have taken a scientific view of the subject; yet whatever may have been his opinion, he could not have expressed a poorer view than that of the writer in "*Nature*" (Sept. 5th, 1878), who resolves the sea-serpent into a flock of birds. The Whale (*Balena*) is not so well executed as the rest, and is attended by the Dolphin (*Orca*), also called Marsuin by the French. (Ramusio III, 419.)

The fish represented upon the globe are so well done that they might claim a full and separate treatment, evidently belonging to the earliest scientific delineations in Ichthyology. The first book on Fish perhaps was that of Paul Jovius (Rome, 1524), but it contains no illustrations. It is possible that no illustrated work appeared prior to 1542. Jovius sent out his work from the Vatican, with which he was connected. Ichthyological studies appear to have been pursued with diligence at Rome, where Salvinus published his book in 1554. The fish upon the globe bear a close resemblance to those of Rondelatius (Lugduni, 1554). On globes and maps prior to 1542 may be found a variety of uncouth marine monsters, but correct representations of fish are scarce.

Besides the historic groups of islands, there are many of lesser note, together with a few not found to-day. East of Cape St. Roque is "De Ferna Loronha," or Fernando de Noronha, discovered in 1506 by the

Portuguese navigator of that name. This lonely, harborless isle, with its remarkable peak (Scribner's *Monthly*, Feb., 1876), appears ready to be what it is now, the Sing Sing of Brazil; while St. Helena, discovered on the festival of that saint, 1501, is waiting to imprison one of the world's great disturbers. There is also "Insvle Tristan Dacvnha," found by the Portuguese, Dacuna, in 1506; and "Insvle Formose," while in the southern part of the Indian Ocean is "Insvle Grifonvm," or the Isle of Griffins.

Bermuda is prominent, having been laid down for the first time on Martyr's Map of 1511, and southward is "Catolica," possibly an alternate name for the "Island of the Seven Cities," which were reported in various places, the inhabitants being "good Catholics." Near this spot, on Ruysch's Map, 1508, is the word "Cata." An island which appears to be a duplicate of Cape Breton lies eastward of that region, and is called "Dobreta." It probably represents Sable Island. Northward is "S. Crvcis," not found to-day. Here we might pause to remark upon the ease with which islands that have no existence are found in the sea, and the corresponding difficulty of getting rid of them. Upon some of our best maps may be found such islands as "Jaquet Island," "Three Chimnies," "Mayda," "Amplimont," and "Green Rock." "Amplimont" is given in Bescherelle's Geographical Dictionary. On Colton's Atlas these islands lie in the track of navigation between France and Newfoundland. It is said that they originated with icebergs in the fog-banks, or possibly in the fog-banks themselves. It should be noticed, however, that this part of the ocean is volcanic, and that islands of considerable magnitude have risen from the sea at different times. The earliest eruption on record in the north Atlantic is that mentioned on the Map of Ruysch in the Ptolemy of 1508. Between Iceland and Greenland is the legend "*Insule hac* 1456 *anno* Dno fvit totaliter combusta;" or, "This island was entirely burned up, A. D. 1456." In Webster's work on St. Michael's Island may be found an acount of the volcanic islands. Thomas Hickling, United States Consul, describes the formation of one named "Sabrina."

It would not, however, be proper to treat all these islands of Vlpius now missing in accordance with the volcanic theory. Amongst them is "Ins. viride," which may be regarded as a reminiscence of pre-Columbian voyages by the Portuguese and others to the fishing banks near Newfoundland, the largest being known as the "Grand Bank," while the lesser bear various names, amongst which is the "Green Bank." The latter shoal, known to be very rocky, was evidently taken by some map-maker for solid land, and laid down as an island. This

mistake is often made in our times. To a similar origin may be assigned "Jaquet Island," which came from the Jaquet Bank, a shoal near the edge of Grand Bank. "Mayda" is simply the "Maidas" of the early maps, while the "Three Chimnies," if not explained by some eruption, may have originated in such peculiarities of the bottom as that known as the "Whale Hole" on the bank of Newfoundland.

It would be a more difficult task, perhaps, to explain the origin of "S. Branda," or Brandon, which appears on the Globe of Vlpius. It is true, as already indicated, that sailors often shape islands out of the fog. An instance is found in the *Isle de Fer*, a reflection of which, often noticed by sailors, and called the land of Butter (*Terre de beurre*), was gravely ceded by the Spanish Government to Louis Perdignon. A similar explanation has often been given to St. Brandon by writers who are inclined to make their labors light. When an eclipse of the moon is observed by certain savages, they begin to beat drums to drive the evil spirits away. Many enlightened persons, however, infer that shadows are formed by the intervention of something approaching the nature of a solid. It is not forcing philosophy to demand a more reasonable explanation than any hitherto offered of such islands as St. Brandon. The *Fata Morgana* is perhaps quite as unsatisfactory as the theory of Satanic delusion, sometimes resorted to for the purpose of explaining the mystery. St. Brandon's Island, without any great stretch of the imagination, might be referred to a burning insular peak, so far as the etymolgy may be concerned; while, again, as the Irish monks were abroad upon the sea at an early period, some of them may have landed upon an island that afterward disappeared. In the case of the monks, it would have received due embellishment, since they were as fond of the marvellous as certain classes are to-day.

Turning to the Greenland section of the globe, a gratifying improvement upon Verrazano's outline is found, showing that Vlpius had consulted the maps of Ruysch, 1508, and Orontius Fines, 1531, though it will be well to remember in this connection that Behaim's Globe of 1492 shows land in the same direction. The Greenland section of Vlpius also indicates that the knowledge in possession of the Zeno Family at Venice found some expression in Italy before the publication of the Zeno Voyage and Map in 1558. Vlpius gives a clear denial to the Ptolemies respecting the situation of Greenland. The editor of the Ptolemy of 1482 knew of the Chronicle of Ivar Bardsen, and some of the names mentioned by him appear upon the editor's map; yet at the same time he assigns a false position to Greenland, which is made an

extension of Norway, while Iceland is laid down in the sea *west* of what is given as Greenland. Vlpius, on the contrary, and in accordance with the fact, places Iceland *east* of Greenland, though both are thrown too far towards Europe. The waters of Greenland are represented as navigated, and nothing is perhaps more susceptible of proof than the fact that communication was never lost with Greenland from the tenth century down to the present day. Vlpius, who seems to copy Ruysch's outline, leaves the space between Greenland and the west as unexplored, while Ruysch, on the other hand, makes Greenland, together with Newfoundland, part of Asia, Gog and Magog being in close proximity. It remained for the Zeno Map, published sixteen years after Vlpius, to show the position of Greenland more distinctly, and at the same time to reveal the sites of the eastern and western colonies of Greenland, so erroneously supposed in later times to have been situated on the opposite coasts of that country. (Northmen in Maine, p. 30.)

It will be necessary next to speak of the coast names on the North American Continent, though it has been indicated previously that certain of them show an agreement with the names on the Verrazano Map. Along the eastern border of the Gulf of Mexico, adjoining Florida, may be seen "Rio Del Gato," or the Cat River; "Rio de Los Angelos," or River of the Angels; "P. de. S. Iohan"; "Navidad," or Nativity; "Costa Verde," or the Green Coast; "Costa de Corsales," which could hardly mean the Coast of the Corsairs. Perhaps it was placed here in honor of Andrea Corsali, the Florentine navigator in the service of Emanuel, King of Portugal, though no record is found of any voyage made by him to this region. "B. de Los Baxos," or the Shoal Bay, completes the list of names on this part of the Gulf.

On the Atlantic coast the names commence near South Carolina with the "B. della ✠," Bay of the Cross. Next is "Valleombrosa," the Shady Valley," which, with the neighboring coast, covered with sedge or reeds (*Calami*), reminds us of Milton's lines:

> "Thick as autumnal leaves that strew the brooks
> In Vallombrosa, where the Etrurian shades
> High over-arch'd, imbower, or scatter'd sedge."

"Punta del Olivio" is evidently the same as Verrazano's Cape "Olimpe." Then follow "Selvi di Cervi," the Deer Park of Verrazano, and "Calami," similar to the "Carnavarall" of the Spanish maps. This brings us to "Lvngavilla" and "G. di. S. Germano," both Verrazano names, the former being Longueville, near Dieppe, and the

latter St. Germaine-en-Laye, the splendid residence of Francis I. "R. del Sole," River of the Sun, if not for Solis, is followed by "Normanvilla," a French city near Longueville. "C. S. Iohan" indicates southern New Jersey. "Porto Reale" follows, when suddenly we reach the river intended for the Penobscot or Norombega, which, as on the Map of Allefonsce, is thrown too far south. The coast being drawn on a small scale, the outline is confused. At the southern entrance of the river is "S. Franc. C.," or the Cape of St. Francis, delineated by Allefonsce as the "Franciscan Cape." Next is "Refvgivm Promont." intended for the Cape of Refuge" of the Verrazano Map, which afforded Verrazano a land-locked harbor, to-day identified with Newport. It must be observed again, however, that the outline of Vlpius is confused. The next name is "Corte Magiore," unless indeed "Magiore" belongs with the succeeding inscription. The signification is obscure, like that of "Flora," though the latter occurs in several of the Ptolemies of the period, including Mattiolo's, 1548, and in Ramusio's Verrazano sketch. Finally, "Cavo de Brettoni" is reached, or Cape Breton, a name usually referred to the French, but which may have been given by the Portuguese. The form, it will be observed, is Portuguese. "Cimeri," on the Gulf of St. Lawrence, is a word whose use is not plain. The reading *may* be "cdmeri," and thus refer to the "Cosin de mer annano," or Oceanus of Schoner, 1520, signifying the Ocean Cape. With "Terra Laboratoris" we reach, not Labrador, the Portuguese "Land of the Laborers," but New Foundland. By mistake, "Laboratoris" is applied to New Foundland, as later to Cape Breton, the inland waters of which are to-day called "Bras d'or," previously lengthened from "Brador," which, according to the fancy of some one, signified "the Arm of Gold." Thus easily are names emptied of their original signification. The coast line to "C. Frio," the Cold Cape of the Portuguese, represents New Foundland, one part of which is marked "Terra Corterealis." "C. Branco" is the White Cape, and "C. de Bona Vista" afforded a good view. Yet, whatever name may be given to New Foundland by the old cartographers, that of "Baccalaos" always adheres, being derived from *Baculum*, a stick, often used to keep fish spread open when drying. "Baia dos Moros," at the Straits of Belle Isle, signifies Codfish Bay. "G. Datrometa" is a misspelling of "G. da Tormento," or the Gulf of Torment, found on Reinel and other charts, apparently referring to the stormy weather. "Ilhado" follows, and "R. da Braco" may signify the Shallow River. "C. Primero" is the first cape, "G. do plaçel" is the Gulf of the Sand Bank,

and "Dos Demonios," or the Island of the Demons, is often found. Greenland lies adjoining, being called "Groestlandia." It is separated from Labrador by the sea. As in several other maps, the name is repeated on an island lying westward as "Grovelat." The greater portion of the region around the Pole is shown as land, but north of Asia is an immense lake, "Mare Glaciale," found on the Nancy Globe.

Only two of the names between the Gulf of Mexico and the Gulf of St. Lawrence remain to-day. The French were nevertheless ambitious, and would have founded New France on the central portion of our coast if circumstances had proved more favorable. Trivial incidents sometimes turned them aside. But for a head wind when off Cape Cod, sailing southward in 1605, Champlain might have reached the Hudson, and instead of planting Port Royal in Nova Scotia, he might have established its foundations on Manhattan Island, in the region where Port Royal ("Porto Reale") was laid down by Vlpius. This would have made the greatest city in America a French city, and, possibly, changed the destiny of the continent.

It will be seen that Vlpius gives to France only that to which she was entitled. As far northward as the coast of the Carolinas, the territory is considered Spanish, while thence to the Gulf of St. Lawrence it is French, the rest being Portuguese, as allowed by the general use of Portuguese names. In 1542, when Cartier set out upon his expedition to colonize on the St. Lawrence, it was clearly understood at Rome what the French claimed. At the same time the globe, as pointed out, bears the line of Pope Alexander, by which the most of the New World was given to Spain. These facts, however, are consistent with one another, even on the supposition that the globe was made at the Vatican under the direction of the Cardinal-Presbyter Cervinus. That person, though loyal to the Papal throne, which he was destined to occupy, was not over friendly to Spain, having three years before refused a pension of ten thousand piastres from Charles V., who wished to win his support. Therefore, while recognizing the decree of Alexander, he might have been fair with the French, and thus conceded what they had accomplished in the New World by the aid of his countryman, Verrazano. However this may be, the French are recognized, and the most of the region now occupied by the United States was claimed for France as New Gaul. Cluverius (Introductio ad Geographium, ed. 1629) also speaks of New France as Gaul (*"Nova Francia Gallis."*) Did he know of the Globe of Vlpius? Cartier's voyage of 1534 is not men-

tioned, as he made no discoveries, but the Gulf of St. Lawrence, which he entered, is left open. Ribero on his map indeed closes the Gulf, yet it was well known to the French at a very early period.

The open sea and isthmus on the Globe of Vlpius form a topic of special interest, but as it has been discussed already in connection with the Map of Verrazano, it will suffice here to add a few facts by way of illustration. The sea and isthmus were copied from Verrazano, and the existence of a body of water in close proximity to the Atlantic was generally believed. Often it was represented as lying further to the south, and hence some suppose that what was referred to may have been the Bay of Mexico. Again, the sea was supposed to lie near the St. Lawrence River, a belief that led the French to attempt the colonization of that rude and inhospitable country, in preference to the sunny and fertile regions explored farther southward by Verrazano. The Spaniards, on the same principle, as previously noted, proposed to fortify and colonize the Straits of Magellan. The St. Lawrence was supposed to lead directly into the "Sea of China." When Champlain went to Canada in 1608, he declared that he would not return until he reached the sea.

In 1612 he made a seventeen days' journey into the wilderness from Montreal to find the sea upon whose shore Vignan professed to have seen the wreck of an English ship. This man, who marched before Champlain through the tangled forests, has been called an impostor, and, with a musket leveled at his head, Vignan confessed himself one; yet no doubt he was as much deceived as Champlain, having acted upon the trusted relation of another, a course which he supposed would succeed, and bring him great credit. De Bry (*Brevis Narratio*, Pt. 2, 1591) represents the sea in his map, while the Virginia colonists entertained a similar idea. As late as 1651 the western sea was represented within about two hundred miles of the Atlantic coast, as appears from a map of that year, found in some copies of "The Discovery of Nevv Brittaine." This error had its day, and then died; though not without manifesting a remarkable vitality. The belief was shared by Vlpius in common with Verrazano, the latter being as positive on the subject as Frobisher himself, both having committed the belief to maps.

Before drawing to a close, it may be desirable to give a brief sketch of the life of Marcellus. The portrait is a reduction in *fac simile* of that found in the work entitled, "*Uomini Illustri Toscani*," etc. Apart from all connection with the globe, it will be prized by collectors for its great

rarity. It is to Marcellus II. that we are indebted, in no small degree, for what, upon the whole, may be regarded as the most skillfully made of the ancient globes now known.

Marcellus Cervinus de Spanniochi was the son of Riciardo Cervinus and Cassandra Benci, being born May 6th, 1501, at Montesano, a city of southern Italy, situated about seventy miles southeast of Naples. The family was originally of Montepulciano, near Siena. For that reason Pope Marcellus takes his place among the Sienese. His father was Apostolic Receiver for the March of Ancona. The early studies of Marcellus were conducted at Siena. Upon going to Rome he was appointed Secretary to Pope Julius III. In 1538 he served at the Court of Charles V. as Papal Ablegate. December 19th, 1539, he was created Cardinal. He also received the Bishopric of Neo Castro. December 15th, 1540, he was made titular Bishop of Reggio, Jacques Lainez performing the actual duty; and February 29th, 1544, Bishop of Gubbio.

Marcellus was present at the Diet of Spires, and April 30th, 1545, was made one of the three Presidents of the Council of Trent. April 5th, 1555, he was unanimously elected Pontiff, and the following day he was crowned. A violent stroke of apoplexy put an end to his life April 30th, after a reign of twenty-two days. If Marcellus had lived, he would have taken rank amongst the greatest of the Popes. Protestants praise him, and the worst enemies of Rome are obliged to concede his worth. His example was indeed unique; for the reformation of the clergy which, as Ranke observes, others talked about, he exhibited in his own person. He was zealous for a pure administration throughout the Church. Though, like his father, possessing certain astrological tastes, he was sincerely devoted to pure science, literature and criticism. He advocated the reformation of the calendar, in accordance with a plan devised by his father. At the time the impression went abroad that the world was to suffer from an universal deluge, a belief which, it is said, drove Clement VII. to the high grounds of Tivoli, Marcellus, then but little known, wrote a treatise to dissipate the notion. Amongst his elegant Latin poems is one "*De Somnio Scipionis.*" His disposition was somewhat severe, and he wished to inaugurate strong measures against the Lutherans and Calvinists; being desirous, also, of reassembling the Council of Trent. His severity even led him to propose the abolition of music in the Church; but when at Easter, Palestrina, then Chapel Master of the Vatican, composed a Mass for six voices, its effect was so great that the Pontiff burst into tears. He at once abandoned his purpose, and the Mass has since been known as the Mass of Pope

Marcellus II. The tastes of this Pontiff were elegant. He was himself an accomplished draughtsman, and a good sculptor. He loved to surround himself with learned and scientific men. Being fond of history and antiquities, it is presumable that he was interested in geography. At the time when the Globe of Vlpius was made, 1542, he was wholly devoted to studious pursuits, being also charged with the care of the Vatican Library. He was distinguished for his height, though his figure was spare. His eyes were black, and the expression of his countenance, according to his portrait and written testimony, was pleasing and agreeable. It is recorded that, while possessing gaiety of disposition, he seldom laughed. Two medals, described by D'Artaud, were struck in his honor. ("*Histoire des Souverains Pontifes Romains.*")

This account of the Life of Pope Marcellus quashes the last indictment drawn against Verrazano, where it is declared: "Even the Globe of Euphrosynus Vlpius, a name otherwise unknown, is represented to have been constructed for Marcellus, who had been archbishop of Florence. They are all the testimony of Florence in her own behalf." (Murphy's "Verrazzano," p. 150.) As it happens, however, Cervinus was never Archbishop of Florence, and held no office in that city, which for generations attempted no recognition of Verrazano, it not being known that a copy of the Navigator's Letter existed in the archives. The Globe of Vlpius, no more than the Map of Verrazano, is associated with any fraud. The charge is based upon a misconception of the facts, and must be abandoned. The instrument in question is a Roman production, the design of which may yet be traced to Marcellus himself, who was known for his ability and skill in this kind of work. Nevertheless, by whomsoever it may have been designed, this ancient globe has come to us from the Eternal City, finding a permanent resting place at last, not without a certain fine justice, in the great metropolis which looks out upon the splendid harbor visited and described by him whose name is so prominently engraved upon the portion representing the New World. If the history of the globe could be written, it would be found to possess the charms of romance. This may be the very globe that, as Hakluyt said, "*seemeth* to be of Verrasanus' making," and which Queen Elizabeth was accustomed to consult in the gallery at Westminster. If so, by what means did it reach England? It certainly went to Spain, and there, the instrument upon which perhaps more than one Pope read the decree of his predecessor, Alexander, was finally banished to the realm of worthless antiquities. Yet it is a rare souvenir of the past. It embodies many of the great aspirations of the sixteenth century. It

stands connected with its maritime enterprise and adventure, and with its naval and geographical romance. It forms an epitome of the world from the beginning to 1542. Especially does it prove to the student how the exploration of our continent tried the courage, tested the endurance, baffled the skill and dissipated the fortunes of some of the noblest of men.

B. F. De COSTA

THE GLOBE OF VLPIUS—1542

OREGON

THE ORIGIN AND MEANING OF THE NAME

Captain Jonathan Carver, the relation of whose "Travels throughout the Interior Parts of North America" was first published in 1778, mentions "the River OREGAN (on another page Oregon), or the River of the West, that falls into the Pacific Ocean at the Straits of Annian." No earlier authority for this name in either form has been discovered. Three or four explanations of it have been offered, no one of which is supported by a particle of historical evidence, or by intrinsic probability. The derivation from "Orejones," a nickname given by the Spanish to the Incas of Peru, and afterwards to Indians of Brazil and to others in Coahuila—because they perforated and distended the lobes of their ears—scarcely deserves consideration. There is no nation on the Columbia River or its affluents to which such an epithet is peculiarly appropriate; but if there were any such "big eared" tribe in that region, and if we could overlook the extreme improbability of the transfer of such a nickname from the people to the river, and of its conversion from plural to singular—and if the corruption of "Orejones" to "Oregon" (Spanish *j* to English *g* hard) can be supposed possible—yet how could such a name come to Carver's knowledge among the Sioux and Algonkins of the Northwest? Certainly not from *Indians*, for in no instance have Indians been known to adopt geographical or tribal names given by Europeans, or derived from a foreign language.

Equally fanciful is the explanation—first offered, I believe, in Darby's Gazeteer, 1827—which derives the name from the Spanish *orégano*, "wild marjoram." In the first place, the plant referred to, commonly called "sage brush" or "wormwood," is *not* an *Origanum* (Spanish *orégano*), but an *Artemisia*; in the second place, this plant, though abundant on the plains, does not grow near the Pacific coast; and finally, there is no evidence that the Columbia River or the Oregon country was known to the Spanish at the date of Carver's travels, or that Spaniards ever used the name "Oregan" or "Oregon" for either river or country.

The name is not Spanish, nor was it, as Mr. Robert Greenhow believed, "invented by Carver." It comes from an Indian language,

with which Carver had been for many years somewhat familiar, and it is the accurate *translation* into that language of the name by which, as Carver had reasons for believing, "the Great River of the West" was designated by the tribes that lived near it. It is the Mohegan *wauregan*, the Abnaki *ourighen*, the Delaware *wuliexen*, the Massachusetts *wunnegan*, signifying in all dialects "good," "fair," "fine." In a river name it denotes sometimes a fair and beautiful—more often a gentle, easily navigable—stream, unbroken by falls. The Iroquois *Oheéyo* has the same meaning. The English corrupted the one name to "Alleghany," the other to "Ohio. "*Olighin* (or *Aleghin*) *sipou*," as it is written by La Metairie, the companion of La Salle, was the Algonkin name of the river which the Senecas called "*Oheéyo gähunda*," and both names were translated by the French in "la belle Rivière.

Fifteen years before Carver began his travels Le Page du Pratz published (in the *Journal Oeconomique*, September, 1751) a story told him by a Yazoo Indian, named Moncacht-apé, of his discovery of a river that flowed westward to the "Great Water," through the country of a nation called "Otters" (*les Loutres*). The river was broad and rapid, and its waters were so fine and clear that these Indians named it in their language "la belle Rivière." An English translation of this story appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for September, 1753. It was reproduced by Le Page du Pratz in 1758 in his *Histoire de la Louisiane* (vol. iii, pp. 102–130), which was translated into English in 1763. The "Belle Rivière" of the West and the "Nation des Loutres" appear on Bailly d'Engel's map of North America, 1764. The relation of Moncacht-apé seemed to confirm information previously obtained from northern Indians concerning the "River of the West." D'Anville, on his map of North America, published in 1746, laid down a river issuing from the Lake of the Woods, designating it as "Grande Rivière qui court à l'Ouest, découverte depuis peu de temps par le Sauvage *Ochagac*." A rude map traced by this Ochagac (or Ochagach) indicated a route to this river through the country of the Sioux—the "Naudowessies" of Carver. These facts must have been well known to Carver when he set out in 1766, hoping to find his way to the headwaters of the River of the West, and to follow its course to the Pacific Ocean or the "Straits of Annian." The Indians through whose countries he traveled all spoke either Sioux or Algonkin dialects. When questioning them about the "Fair River" of the West, he must necessarily translate its name into an Algonkin or a Sioux language. Neither of his interpreters (one was a Mohawk, the other a French

Canadian) understood the Sioux, but the *Algonkin* designation of a "Fair River"—*Waurégan*, *Ourighen*, or *Alleghany*, according to local dialect—must have been well known to them and to Carver himself.

He did not succeed in opening a way to the Pacific, or even in discovering the "Heads of the River of the West," but he *did* succeed in giving to the *un*discovered river, and to the vast territory it was supposed to traverse, and finally to a State in the American Union an excellent name, which he did not "invent," but which he honestly accepted as the equivalent of that by which the "Nation of Otters" designated in their unknown language their "Belle Rivière."

J. HAMMOND TRUMBULL

THE TREATY OF PEACE 1783

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN WILLIAM JAY AND JOHN QUINCY ADAMS

No. I

JUDGE JAY TO MR. ADAMS

BEDFORD, WESTCHESTER CO., N.Y., 10 August, 1832.

SIR:

In the motives which prompt this letter, and in the long and uninterrupted friendship that subsisted between our Fathers, you will I trust find an apology for the liberty I take in addressing you. I am now engaged in preparing for the press a memoir of my Father's life. In this work the negotiation of —83 will, of course, hold a prominent place. I find from a letter of Judge Peters, who was in Congress in —82 and —83, that an attempt was made in that body to pass a vote of censure on my Father for having violated his instructions in that negotiation. My Father also on several occasions mentioned the fact, yet both the public and secret Journals of Congress are silent on the subject. In what manner the attempt was made, and how it was defeated, I am ignorant. I suppose, but have never understood, that Mr. Adams was included in the proposed vote of censure. Thinking it probable that you may be acquainted with the particulars of this affair, permit me to ask the favor of you to give me such information respecting it, as in your opinion it may not be improper to communicate.

You are doubtless aware of the recent efforts which have been made to exalt the reputation of Dr. Franklin, at the expense of his colleagues. A thorough and patient investigation of the transactions connected with the negotiations of —82 and —83, as far as I have been able to discover them and likewise of the communications to Congress from the French Ministers at Philadelphia, contained in the secret journals of Congress, has resulted in impressing on my own mind an entire conviction that the views taken by Messrs. Adams and Jay of the policy of the French Court, were well founded. I have found, in an old newspaper, an extract from a letter addressed by Count Montmorin, French Ambassador at Madrid, while my Father was at that Court, to Count Vergennes, that has a bearing on this subject. In it Montmorin tells Vergennes that "His most Christian Majesty could not afford his Catholic Majesty a greater proof of his attachment, than in employing his influence in the United States to divert their views from the navigation of the Mississippi." The letter has every appearance of authenticity, but how and by what authority it became public I do not know.

It is not improbable, from the peculiar opportunities you have enjoyed, that you may have derived information respecting both this document and also the real intentions of the French Cabinet, from sources not accessible to me. I am, however, very sensible that the nature of these sources may have been such as to limit your communications.

But should propriety permit you to afford me any aid in explaining and vindicating the course pursued by our

Parents in negotiating the treaty of peace, I need not say that the favour would be very gratefully received by

Sir,

Your very respectful and obedt servt,

WILLIAM JAY

To John Quincy Adams,
Late President of the United States.

No. II

MR. ADAMS TO JUDGE JAY

QUINCY, 18 August, 1832.

SIR:

I learn with great satisfaction from your letter of the 10th inst, that you are occupied in preparing for the Press a Memoir of your father's life. The affectionate respect entertained for him by my father to the last period of his own life was witnessed by me through a long series of years, and has ever been cordially participated in by myself.

The recent efforts to which you allude to exalt the reputation of Dr. Franklin at the expense of that of his colleagues, excited my surprise until I perceived the motives and impulses in which they originated. They were the more unjust in regard to your father, as he and Dr. Franklin, were as I have understood, always upon terms of mutual good understanding. Dr. Franklin was a great favorite at the Court of Versailles, and particularly more in favour with the Count de Vergennes, a very equivocal character in public morals, though perhaps well adapted to the rotten condition of the French Monarchy at the close of the reign of Louis the 15th, and during that of his Successor, until the moment preceeding his fall.

The Political system of Vergennes towards *our* Country at the commencement of our Revolution is disclosed in some remarks of Mr. Turgot upon a memoir of the Count in April, 1776, upon the Question what course France and Spain should take on that occasion. He thought the *Policy* of France was neutrality, her *interest* that the Insurrection should be *suppressed;* because if Great Britain should put us down, she would be too much weakened by the necessary exertions to keep us down to be dangerous to France.

Even this policy he did not honestly pursue; but while professing neutrality he did give clandestine assistance to keep the struggle up, and the surrender of Burgoyne, brought him to another conclusion. He then bound us to France by a Treaty of Commerce and an eventual treaty of Alliance. The object of these Treaties he further declared in another memoir in March, 1784, had been to curb the ambition and pride of England, and to *prevent the American Revolution from turning to the disadvantage of France.*

During the War of the Revolution, and at the negotiations for Peace, Vergennes was against us upon the Fisheries, upon the Western Boundary, upon the indemnities to the Tories, and upon the navigation of the Mississippi. This, your father and mine well knew, and therefore did not communicate to the Count de Vergennes the progress of their negotiations with Mr. Oswald for Peace, but only the substance of the Treaty when concluded. That Treaty, however, was not to take effect until the Peace between Great Britain and France

½ past 2 — Dolly's —

One among our many Follies
Was calling in for Steaks at Dolly's
Whereby we've lost — & fail like Sinners
That we've miss'd much better Dinners
Nor do we think that us 'tis hard on
Most humbly thus to beg your pardon
And promise that another Time
We'll give our reason not our Rhime

should also be concluded. This the Count de Vergennes was negotiating with Mr. Fitzherbert, without communicating the progress of it to the American Commissioners. Doctor Franklin did not separate from his colleagues, in withholding the details of the negotiation from the knowledge of the French Court, but he appears to have acquiesced in it with some reluctance, and was far more *confiding* in the friendship of France than she merited.

I have, since receiving your letter, looked over my father's papers of 1783, but find nothing relating to the attempt in Congress to pass a vote of censure upon the Commissioners who negotiated the Peace. I presume, however, that you have a copy of the Diplomatic Correspondence recently published by Congress, and somewhat incorrectly edited by Mr. Sparks, I mean by the notes with which it is impoverished from the hand of the Editor. But in the tenth volume of that compilation, page 129, there is a letter from the then Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Robert R. Livingston, dated 25 March, 1783, in which he censures severely enough the Commissioners for their distrust of the Court of Versailles. That Letter he sent without submitting it to Congress, but he had submitted the previously received despatches, Letters and Journals of the Commissioners, giving the account of *their* Treaty, before the Peace between Great Britain and France had been concluded. The documents from the Commissioners, he says, had been read in Congress, then referred back to him for a Report, and thereupon he had written to Congress a Letter, upon the consideration of which *motions were made and debated a whole day.* Then his Letter and the motions were committed and a Report brought in, which had been two days under consideration, when the arrival of a vessel from Cadiz, with Letters from Count d'Estaing and the Marquis de La Fayette, announced the conclusion of the Peace, after which many members thought it would be improper to proceed in the Report, and (says he) "in that State it remains without any express decision. From this you will draw your own inferences. I make no apology for the part I have taken in this business."

From the secret Journals of Congress it appears that the letters from La Fayette and d'Estaing, announcing the Peace, were received by Congress on the 24th of March, only the day before this Letter from Mr. Livingston to the Commissioners was written. They had immediately superseded all further debate on the Report. From the temper of his letter to the Commissioners, which he says he intended to have submitted, but which he did not submit to Congress, from the reserved manner with which he speaks of the debates, motions and reports which had been left undecided, and from his disclaimer of *apology*, for the part he had taken in the business, it is to be inferred that he had recommended a vote of censure, but whether it extended to all the Commissioners, or had a saving clause for Dr. Franklin, I am unable to say; very certainly it included your father and mine. The reply of the Commissioners to Mr. Livingston, dated 27 July, 1783, page 193, of the same volume, and signed by Dr. Franklin, as well as by our fathers,

was an extinguisher to Mr. Livingston's objections.

WILLIAM JAY, Esqr.,
Bedford, Westchester Co., N.Y.

Accept, Sir, the assurance of my best Respects and wishes,

J. Q. ADAMS

P. S. I take the liberty of enclosing to you a copy of an Eulogy upon Mr. Monroe, delivered by me shortly after his decease. It is now somewhat out of season, but as there are references in it on more than one occasion to incidents in the life of your honored father, I venture to ask your acceptance of it.

J. Q. A.

No. III

JUDGE JAY TO MR. ADAMS

BEDFORD, 23d August, 1832.

Sir:

Permit me to return you my acknowledgements for your prompt and very obliging reply to my letter of the 10th inst.

Your conjectures respecting the proposed vote of censure on the Am. Commissioners are, I have no doubt, well founded, and explain the obscurity in which that subject has been involved.

The attempts that have been made in the notes to the Dip. Correspondence in the N. Am. Review, in the Boston Newspapers and in the Life of Govr. Morris to convict Messrs. Adams and Jay of harbouring false and ungenerous suspicions of the intentions of Count de Vergennes, evinced an unusual degree of zeal and pertinacity, and indicate, I think, other than apparent motives.

Owing to some irregularity of the mails, I have been deprived of the pleasure of receiving the Eulogy on Mr. Monroe wh. you were so good as to send me.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your very respectful and obliged Serv't,

WILLIAM JAY.

John Q. Adams,
Late Prest. of the U. States.

No. IV

MR. ADAMS TO JUDGE JAY

Quincy, 20th Oct., 1832.

Dear Sir:

At the time when I had the pleasure of receiving your letter of the 23d of August, I had at hand no copy of my Eulogy upon the Life and Character of James Monroe which I could offer you in the place of that which by some accident must have failed in the conveyance.

Having since then some additional copies, I now enclose one of them, and add to it a copy of an address delivered by me to the Inhabitants of this Town on the 4th of July of the last year. The subjects of both these essays being so intimately connected with important incidents in the life of your father, will I hope apologise to you for asking your acceptance of them at so late a day. It was after the delivery of them both that I first learnt your intention to publish a biographical memoir of your illustrious father; retaining for his memory that affectionate regard which I had from my own childhood felt, and been taught to cherish for himself while he lived, the Destinies, or, to speak more correctly, the dispositions of Providence have traced the path of my own life at dis-

tances so remote from those of his children that I have almost been deprived of the satisfaction of a personal acquaintance with them, and particularly with yourself. These are the circumstances which occasion the lapse of time since the publication of the enclosed discourses before my offering of copies of them to you.

Wordly Wisdom was Doctor Franklin's God. An immense disproportion, if not the whole, of his virtues was concentrated in *Prudence*. His Justice was Prudence. His Fortitude was Prudence. His Temperance, what he had of it, was Prudence. His Philosophy was essentially that of Epicurus, perhaps in its least exceptionable form. The quaint sayings of Poor Richard's Almanac contain his whole system of morals.

There is a question among the Classical Commentators upon Juvenal whether one of his celebrated lines should be read

Nullum Numen abest si sit Prudentia,

or

Nullum Numen adest ni sit Prudentia.

Dr. Franklin's Life was a practical exemplification of the first of these readings. It was prosperous throughout a long Career. The virtue of Prudence carried him through more than four score years of successful achievements, and has left him a name among the most splendid of his Age and Country. It was in him united with a quick perception and a powerful activity of judgment. But he lived for this world, as if there was no other; and of the motive to action, traceable to the possibilities of a future state, he knew little or nothing. There is a moral Philosophy of a higher order than that of Dr. Franklin.

In the conclusion of the Preliminaries of Peace with Great Britain in November, 1782, Doctor Franklin concurred with his colleagues by signing the Treaty without previous communication of its contents to the Count de Vergennes. To have separated from his colleagues would have been *imprudent;* yet, if the withholding of the information from the French Government had been a breach of good faith, a man, to whom Prudence did not embrace the whole duty of man, would have refused to sign and abided by the consequences. Franklin signed with his colleagues, but his Prudence gave Vergennes to understand that the withholding of the contents of the Treaty had not been with his approbation. Nor did he suffer his friends in Congress to be ignorant of his private opinions, and hence the effort in Congress to pass a vote of censure upon their Commissioners, and the petulant letter of their Secretary of Foreign Affairs.

The victorious reply of the Commissioners to that letter Dr. Franklin also signed. In the official Correspondence to the last he concurs with his colleagues. But he, like another of our most eminent Statesmen, had a language official, and a language *confidential.* If the vote of censure had passed in Congress, it would have been ostensibly as hard upon him as upon the rest, but his Prudence would have secured the means of turning it to his own account with Vergennes.

Of your father, I think it never was said that *he* had a language official and a language confidential. His Prudence

was scarcely less than that of Dr. Franklin, but it had another foundation.

I am, with great Respect,
Dear Sir,
Your friend and Servt,
J. Q. Adams

William Jay, Esqr., Bedford,
New York.

No. V

JUDGE JAY TO MR. ADAMS

Bedford, 27th Octr., 1832.

Sir:

It is not without hesitation that I do myself the pleasure of acknowledging the receipt of your interesting letter of the 20th inst., and of the pamphlets accompanying it, lest I should seem unnecessarily to trespass upon your time and patience; and yet I am unwilling by my silence to afford you reason to think that your polite attentions to myself, and your expressions of regard for my Father, have failed to produce their proper impression.

The pamphlets contain many excellent and useful sentiments, and the oration especially is admirably adapted to the present crisis. It recalled to my mind an expression of Genl Washington's in a letter to my Father: "The Monster —State Sovereignty." In a former letter you alluded to the friendship of Mr. Adams for my Father. I can bear witness that it was sincerely reciprocated. He seems always to have felt and cherished his obligations to Mr. Adams for the manly and generous support he gave him in —82, and in his old age still spoke of it with warmth and gratitude.

The character of his other colleague he perfectly understood and appreciated,

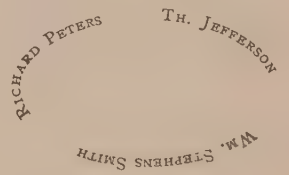
I have the honour to remain, Sir,
Your very Obedt and respectful Servt,
William Jay

John Q. Adams,
Late Prest. of the U. States.

A DIPLOMATIC ROUND ROBIN

March 26, (1786)
½ past 2—Dolly's.

One among our many follies
Was calling in for Steaks at Dolly's
Whereby we've lost—and feel like Sinners
That we have missed much better dinners
Nor do we think that us 'tis hard on
Most humbly thus to beg your pardon
And promise that another time
We'll give our *reason* not our *rhime*
So we've agreed—our Nem: Con: vote is
That we thus jointly give you notice
For as our rule is to be clever
We hold it better late than never



This amusing trifle, signed by men whom we are taught to revere as grave and reverend seniors, is in the possession of Charles Bruff, of Brooklyn, to whom we are indebted for its reproduction.

Mr. Jefferson, then our Minister to France, had been a short time before called by a private letter of Mr. Adams, then our Minister at London, to consult upon the terms of treaties with Portugal and Algiers. This letter was carried by Mr. Smith, then Adams' Secretary of Legation, and later the husband of his only daughter. Jefferson returned with

him to London, where they met Richard Peters, well known in revolutionary history as Secretary to the Board of War, later as Judge of the U. S. Court in Pennsylvania, and celebrated for his dry wit and humor.

It seems that these convivial spirits had engaged to dine with Mr. Adams on the evening of Saturday, the 25th of March, but were led astray by the attractions of Dolly's chop-house, long famous for its good cheer. There, at half-past two o'clock on Sunday morning, the rhyme, of which we give a facsimile, was written. It is supposed to be in the hand-writing of Col. Smith, but to have been dictated by Mr. Peters. It is addressed to "His Excellency John Adams, &c., &c., &c., corner Brooks Street, Grosvenor Square."

It is amusing to read in the diary of John Adams that he dined with Richard Peters and a distinguished company at the table of the Bishop of St. Asaph's that same Sunday evening. The names of Jefferson and Smith do not appear in the list of the guests. We notice their absence without comment. The reader may draw his own conclusions.

EDITOR

EARLY PROPOSAL TO ANNEX THE VALLEY OF THE MISSISSIPPI

State of Georgia, Frontier of the Creek Nation, 1st March, 1787.

May it please your Excellency,

Having waited thus far in expectation of permission to join the Spanish troops in South America, and having expressed to your Excellency an ardent inclination to obtain the mere honor of serving in any Spanish regiment as a volunteer; which requisitions as they were not complied with in due time, I beg leave to decline the acceptance of any rank or degree in the service of his Catholic Majesty. The annals of history must have informed your Excellency, that many nations have had abundant reason to deplore the impolicy of those whom they had invested with the powers of government, in slighting the proffered services of men (however young like myself) whose bent, study and inclination naturally led to *tactical pursuits* and to war, and who afterwards arrived to the highest pinnacle of eminence and glory; at the woful experience of such countries and States as had rejected those early overtures of service in their armies. Not to talk of the Achaian league, or the Athenian, Spartan or Theban story, modern history is replete with such proofs; and your Excellency cannot but recollect (however in-applicable perhaps the instances may hereafter prove to a young and insignificant soldier of fortune,) what France had suffered from a rejected *Eugene*; and that *Saxe* whose services had been refused by an English court, had afterwards fertilized the plains of the Netherlands with the blood and carcasses of the slaughtered Britons. But to the point. Being a soldier of fortune, as I profess, and having studied from my infancy the science of arms, *practical* war is now my pursuit, as a profession most congenial with my principles and disposition; and thousands of Americans (officers in the late war) pant for an opportunity to serve this country. The banks of the Ohio and

Mississippi, are actually alive with the first American characters of this stamp, and called upon from thence by my heroic brethren of the army, honor, virtue and the bias of an ancient intercourse, and former habits incline me to assist them. From the Natches to the Kaskaskies, from Pittsburg to St. Mary's river, they are prepared to pour forth with the greatest ease 50,000 veterans in arms in defence of their *commercial* rights, throughout the navigable rivers of the southern parts of this empire. The grain is actually germinating, sown by the pride, avarice, and folly of a certain extern power, which the pure air of liberty working at the root, and the laws of nature, superior to the narrow policy of any foreign court, must finally and very speedily raise into a host of myrmidons, the children of Æacus; the sons of the earth; irresistible in this land, at least by any force that may obstruct their pretensions or assail them.

The important drama, may it please your Excellency, is now approaching; a new drama, in which the tragedians of the *west* are to appear in the military buskin—and I am invited to act as a character of some consequence among them. Time will tell how decisively *my part* shall be performed. Of this I am sure, that I shall exhibit to my utmost the part of a soldier. A very inconsiderable time must inevitably call forth to trial, the mighty energy of the Ohio and Mississippi; and incidents and events are gradually teeming into birth, which will shortly open a spacious field for a daring spirit to explore.

May it please your Excellency, the States of Georgia, Franklin, and Kentucky, confederated; the counties of Bourbon, &c., on the Natches; the settlements on Cumberland, Kaskaskies, and the Wabash, and the government of Pittsburg, Westmoreland, &c., abound with the seeds of war; nor will any obstruction from New Orleans to the Balise, impede the overwhelming inundation preparing to pour down along the waters of the Mississippi, into the Bay of Mexico. The torrent will be irresistible; the crop is actually in the ground; harvest is ready for the hook, and the hook for the harvest, the reaper has introduced his sickle, combustibles are laid into a pile, nay, the very brand is already applied, and the fire only requires to be fanned. The permission of Congress will not be solicited on this occasion. In Congress this people are not represented. I am now on my way to the *western* waters, where people too long confined to unnatural boundaries, are ready to float with the current of the Mississippi into the sea, and with irresistible irruption and impetuosity to burst over every artificial barrier and mound which may obstruct their free passage into the ocean. The Americans are amphibious animals. They cannot be confined to the land alone. Tillage and commerce are their elements. Both, or neither will they enjoy. Both they will have or perish.

I have the honor to remain, with the utmost deference, your Excellency's most obedient, and most humble servant,

JOHN SULLIVAN, Late Captain
4th regiment American light dragoons.

P. S. In the alternative of peace or war, I shall ever entertain the highest

respect for your Excellency, and should be happy in the continuance of a *candid* correspondence. In this case, inclose my address to Major Thomas Washington of Georgia, who is acquainted with my routes.

To his Excellency [Don Diego Gardoqui], the Spanish Minister at New York.

The New York Packet, Friday, August 17, 1787.

NOTES

METAL OBJECTS FROM INDIAN TUMULI IN GEORGIA. — Reprinted from the Smithsonian Report for 1877, is an interesting article, by Professor Charles Rau, entitled Observations on a gold ornament from a mound in Florida. His estimate of the age and origin of this relic appears entirely correct. As we well know, objects of European manufacture are not infrequently found in the grave-mounds of this region, once known by the general name of Florida, but they usually appertain to secondary interments upon the crests and along the slopes of tumuli, or are obtained from Indian graves of comparatively recent date.

Occasionally occur instances where such relics evidently belonged to and formed a part of the original sepulture which the heap of earth, rock, or shell was designed to perpetuate. To an example of this sort do I refer on page 131 of my Antiquities of the Southern Indians. That the custom of mound-building was observed even within the historic period is capable of easy demonstration.

Last winter while opening a shell-mound on the Colonel's Island, lying near the mouth of Midway river, on the Georgia coast, I found in the heart of the structure and intermingled with the bones of several skeletons, a Portugese coin, bearing the date 1732 — the year prior to the settlement of the colony under Oglethorpe. It is in good preservation, presents the image and superscription of Joannes V, and was manifestly associated with the primal inhumation.

About three years ago, from a small grave-mound near the Savannah river, in Columbia County in this State, was taken a gold coin interred with the deceased in whose honor this earth-pile had been erected. It is a piece of Cob money. Aside from the particular interest it possesses in the eye of the American Archæologist, because of its association with the primitive customs of the peoples, once cormorant here, who perpetuated, even after contact with Europeans, their habit of interring with the dead articles of use and ornament, it is of no inconsiderable value to the numismatologist. Both these coins lie before me as I write.

Cherokee graves in Upper Georgia, and the burial places of the Creeks in the middle portions of the State, often yield an abundant supply of European beads, silver ornaments, and trinkets of foreign manufacture.

But I have wandered from the object I had in view when I took up my pen. It was to call attention to a gold ornament, of primitive manufacture, which was obtained from an Indian grave in Duke's Creek Valley, one of the tributaries of Nacoochee valley in Cherokee, Georgia. It is a little less than an inch

in length, is rather cylindrical in shape, tapering to a blunt point, is about a quarter of an inch broad, and the eighth of an inch in thickness. At the upper corner it was perforated apparently by means of a triangularly shaped flint implement. The aperture decreases on both sides towards the centre. At the inception the diameter of the perforation is a little less than the eighth of an inch; at the centre, about the sixteenth of an inch.

But little labor was bestowed upon this object, save in drilling the hole. In it we behold a natural mass or nugget of gold, perforated at the larger end for the purpose of suspension. This nugget has a smooth, attrided appearance.

Gold objects of primitive manufacture are here exceedingly rare so far as my observation and information extend. Everything of this sort, therefore, is interesting and worthy of note.

With the exception of a few gold beads—some of them drilled nuggets, and others small masses of native gold hammered out and then rolled—found in the Etowah Valley, this is the only gold object of primitive manufacture and use, obtained within the limits of this State, of which I have any personal knowledge.

The Spaniards, as is well known, were grievously disappointed at the lack of this metal on the persons and in the habitations of the Florida Tribes. The famed mountains of Apalatcy, spouting streams of gold, were sought but never found. Their treasures, like the spring of perpetual youth, remained undiscovered.

Nuggets of native silver have been taken from a grave-mound in Lincoln County, Georgia, but they bore no traces of labor, and seem to have been valued and preserved by the natives because of their beauty and rarity.

I do not believe that the North American Indians, with perhaps a few exceptions, understood the treatment of metals by fire. Of iron they made comparatively little use, and then rubbed the native ore into the desired shape. As far as my observation goes, in the fabrication of utensils, weapons, and ornaments from copper, they regarded the ore as a malleable stone and hammered it into the required forms.

In like manner did they deal with gold nuggets.

I have never seen a silver object of primitive manufacture.

CHARLES C. JONES, JR.

Augusta, Ga.

DESCRIPTION OF FAYETTEVILLE, NORTH CAROLINA, 1790.—*Extract of a letter dated October 1st.*—Nature seems to have pointed out this place as the most proper spot for the seat of Government in the State. Our centrality, perhaps not strictly so much so in a geographical view, as in point of population and trade, is unquestionable. Fayetteville is situated on the best branch of Cape Fear River, with an easy shallop navigation the whole distance to Wilmington, about one hundred miles, from whence is only twenty-five miles to the sea. The inhabitants are extremely anxious that this object should be attained, as in no town of the State are the manners of the people so civilized and becoming, or any place where there is a greater plenty of provi-

sions, or where such a numerous representation as ours could be so well accommodated—here is no gouging, and comparatively speaking, but little swindling; what there is, is in a certain notorious house at the west end of the town, kept by a set of infamous fellows, whom, in a little time, we hope to whip off into Virginia, or South Carolina. The trade of Fayetteville is increasing rapidly, and we have a continual acquisition of new comers, attracted, no doubt, by the superior advantages we enjoy. W. K.

THE OLD HESSIANS.—Many of them deserted from the British, as is well known, and became good friends of liberty and the American cause, soon after reaching our shores.

Two of these "foreign mercenaries," as they were called, and often with an unfair degree of odium, whose very respectable descendants now dwell in this city or contiguously, have recently been named to us, viz., John Henry Frederics and John Christian Brockner, both born on the year 1756. The former was a University student, and was impressed into the service, in Hamburg. He lived in this city, where he died January 12, 1821. One of his daughters, an aged maiden lady, lives now in Brooklyn, L. I., with a nephew, whose venerable father, Mr. Jacob Brinkerhoff, a native New Yorker, and noted for his attachment to the Reformed Church and its old Holland vernacular, married her sister. John Jacob Astor came over in the same ship with Mr. Frederics, and as they were fellow-soldiers also, at least for a season, so they were great friends through life. Mr. Astor used often to go to the other's house in this city to smoke and chat with him. John Christian Brockner died in 1851, in his 95th year, leaving four sons, one of whom, Washington, is now living in New York. His father, after leaving the British, fought for the Americans as a volunteer, in several battles, one of which was that of Monmouth, and also as a scout up the Hudson, among the "Cow-boys." He is also said to have frozen one of his feet in a winter campaign. The old man had a great admiration for General Washington, and, at Tarrytown, near which he married and lived the early part of his life *post bellum*, he used to tell General Storms of the great kindness of the Commander-in-chief, to the soldiers when sick in their tents. His birth place in the old father-land, was Frankfort-on-the-Main, and he too was impressed for the army. He was a shoemaker by trade, and was a traveling journeyman at the time. We are told that Brockner, with five or six others, one of whom was probably Frederics, deserted in this city and concealed themselves in a swamp, near where Canal street now is. Also that the former had some experience in one of these revolutionary New York Bastiles, the "Sugar-Houses."

New York must speak tenderly of those old Germans who, in becoming our foes in the great struggle of our Revolution, had very little responsibility in the matter, and some of whom, both personally and in their descendants, have since been so valuable an element in our citizenship. As the British were evacuating New York, in 1783, Semon,

a Hessian, was the first to hoist the American flag from a private house, which was No. 13 Chatham street. The venerable Judge Ulshœfer is a son of a Hessian soldier. And we have a descendant of another in one of our Presbyterian pulpits, while another of a similar posterity is a Professor in the University in this city. W. H.

MADISON'S NIGHT CAP.—To preserve the tops of masts of the Shipping laid up for some years past, on account of the war, it has been common to cover them with an inverted tar-barrel. A sailor yesterday, says the Boston Daily Advertiser, who ascended to remove one of these coverings, exclaimed as he accomplished his object, "Off comes Madison's Night-cap,"—*N. Y. Weekly Museum, Feb.* 25, 1815. PETERSFIELD.

RIGHT OF POSSESSION.—*Spanish River Road, Sep.* 15, 1711. Being informed by several Officers, who had been there, that a Cross was erected on the Shoar, with the names of the French Sea Officers who had been here, which I look'd upon as a Claim of Right they pretend to for the King, their Master, the Island having been always in the times of Peace used in Common, both by the English and French, for lading Coals, which are extraordinary good here, and taken out of the Clifts with Iron Crows only, and no other Labour. I thought it not amiss, therefore, to leave something of that kind to declare the Queen's Right to this Place; and having a Board made by the Carpenter, and painted, I sent him ashoar to fix it upon a Tree in some eminent Place, where it might most easily be seen, which was after the form of a square surmounted by a cross, with the inscription following:

IN NOMINE
PATRIS FILII ET SPIRITUS SANCTI
AMEN.
OMNIBUS IN CHRISTO FIDELIBUS SALUTEM
ANNO DEI GRATIA
MAG. BRITTANNIÆ
FRANCIÆ ET HIBERNIÆ REGINA
TOTIUSQUE AMERICÆ SEPTENTRIONALIS
DOMINA, FIDEI DEFENSOR, &C.
IN
CUJUS HARUM INSULARUM VULGO
CAPE BRETON
PROPRIETATIS
ET DOMINII
TESTIMONIUM
HOC
EREXIT MONUMENTUM
SUÆ MAJESTATIS SERVUS
ET SUBDITUS FIDELISSIMUS
D. HOVENDEN WALKER EQUES AURATUS
OMNIUM IN AMERICA NAVIUM REGALIUM
PRÆFECTUS ET THALASSIARCHA
MENSE SEPTEMBRIS
ANNO SALUTUS
MDCCXI

—*Account of Admiral Walker's Expedition to Canada*, 1711. J. A. S.

THE EMPEROR OF THE MISSISSIPPI.—They write from Paris, that two American Princes are arrived there, whose Skins are figured with unintelligible Hieroglyphick Characters, as Marks of Distinction; one of them is the Son of a King, and the other an Emperor, on the Banks of the Mississippi. Their Domesticks wear a Jacket, Petticoat, a Red Mantel and a White Scarff about their Waste, Pendants in their Ears, and Turbans on their Heads.—*London Newspaper, July*, 1772. W. K.

HARD MONEY FOR NEW ENGLAND.—The expenses incurred by the New England colonies in the reduction of Louisburg were, after considerable delay, reimbursed by order of Parliament. It amounted to £183,649 sterling, or $800,000, and arrived in the form of six hundred and fifty-three thousand ounces of silver and ten tons of copper. The

money was landed on Long Wharf, placed in wagons, and carried through the streets of Boston, with much rejoicing It was divided between the four colonies, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut; Massachusetts, including Maine, receiving most of it. The paper currency of Massachusetts, which was previously at the rate of seven or eight to one of silver, was after redeemed at a rate of about one fifth less than the current value. MIDAS.

LETTER OF MAJOR GENERAL HEATH. —The following letter is believed to have never been in print before, and may be of interest to the readers of this Magazine.

'Headquarters, Continental Village,
Sept. 28th, 1781.

Dear Sir:

Your favor of the 25th did not come to hand till the last evening. I thank you for the intelligence you have again communicated. I have not a sufficient knowledge of the country where you are, or of its vicinity, to determine precisely what posts are the most advantageous for your regiment to occupy.

Governor Livingston supposed your present station the most eligible to prevent the incursions of the enemy, and to suppress illicit trade.

The force on Staten Island was then but small, the present force of the enemy, and probability of their intending an incursion into the State may make a change in your position necessary, both as it respects your own detachment or checking the enemy. You must therefore act as circumstances may require, and prudence and policy point out as most eligible.

Please therefore to conduct conformably—that is, as circumstances may require. I have ordered a detachment of regular troops to cross Kings ferry, and advance as far as Ramapaugh. They will not advance further, unless a movement of the enemy into Jersey should require it, in which case they will advance rapidly to the aid of the militia. The troops are under the command of Colonel Commandant Swift, and have a light field piece with them. Please give them early notice if the enemy should attempt to cross the island. If the movement should be considerable, more force with a general officer will march to your assistance.

Please continue to advise me of the motions and designs of the enemy as far as come to your knowledge."

I am with great regard
Dear Sir,
Your Ob'd't Serv't
W. HEATH.

"*Colonel Seely.*" M. General."

In connection with the above, I give the following extract from Major General Heath's Memoirs, page 311, under date of Sept. 28th, 1781: "Apprehending that the enemy might have intentions of crossing over from Staten Island to the Jersies, a detachment of 300 infantry, with light artillery, under the command of Col. Swift, were ordered to cross the ferry the next morning, and move as far as Ramapaugh, to be at hand to aid the militia, in case the enemy should land at the Jersies."

C. J. BARNES.

Chicago, Ill.

ONE AND INSEPARABLE.—Died June 9th, 1830, at Marie, near Quebec, Nouvelle Beauce, Jacques Gagne, and Magdaline Morin, his wife, both 77 years old. These two persons were born the same day, baptized the same day, made their first communion the same day, died and were buried the same day.—*Commercial Advertiser, June 30th,* 1830. W. K.

A MEDICAL CURIOSITY.—Whereas of late years there has been advanced for a certainty, by a certain Quack Doctor, a foreigner, that a certain cure may be had for a consumption, where any of the same family had before that time died with the same disease; directing to have the bodies of such as had died to be dug up; and further said, that out of the breast or vitals might be found a sprout or vine fresh and growing, which, together with the remains of the vitals being consumed in the fire, would be an effectual cure to the same family: And such direction so far gained credit, that in one instance the experiment was thoroughly made in Wilmington, on the first day of June instant, two bodies were dug up which belonged to the family of Mr. Isaac Johnson of that place, they both died with the consumption, one had been buried one year and eleven months, the other one year, a third of the family then sick. On full examination of the then small remains by two doctors then present, *viz:* doctors Grant and West, not the least discovery could be made; and to prevent misrepresentations of the facts, I being an eye witness, that under the coffin was sundry small sprouts about one inch in length, then fresh, but most likely was the produce of sorrel seeds which fell under the coffin when put in the earth. And that the bodies of the dead may rest quiet in their graves without such interruption, I think the public ought to be aware of being led away by such an imposture. Moses Holmes. — *Connecticut Courant, June,* 1784. W. K.

A FACT THAT WOULD BE DOUBTED IN OUR DAY.—A grocer of this city, in retailing out a cask of hogs fat, weighing 112 lbs. that was brought from Carolina last fall, found towards the bottom of the cask a living Hen; which was taken out, and is now alive and in good condition—an egg with a soft shell was also found in the cask.—*Time Piece, New York, June* 30, 1797. PETERSFIELD.

SIR PETER WARREN.—The generosity and public spirit of this gallant officer was shown by the manner in which he disposed of the commission granted him by the British Government upon the expenditures made in New England for the Cape Breton expedition. A part of it he devoted to the purchase in England of two large black horses for the improvement of Colonial Stock. The remainder he at first proposed to expend in the encouragement of the Protestant School in Ireland. This sum, seven hundred pounds, he later proposed to give to the building of a town hall in Cambridge, but by the advice of his companion-in-arms, Sir William Pepperrell, appropriated it to the education of the Indians. The donation was made to the mission at Stockbridge. The Rev. Dr. Edwards is said to have suggested the change to Pepperrell. STOCKBRIDGE.

WALTER RUTHERFURD'S TOAST.—*Honi soit qui mal y pense.*—The toast given by the President of St. Andrew's Society of New York, at the festival meeting of that body on St. Andrew's day, November 30th, was "*Lady Glenachie's Garters.*" Some weak people have been scandalized at this toast. It is perfectly innocent, however, in its meaning and application. Lady Glenachie (or Glenorchie) was a Scottish lady of a very benevolent and Christian disposition. Among other institutions set on foot by this amiable character, was a charitable house for the instruction of poor girls in needle work, knitting, weaving, etc. In the latter branch was a garter manufactory, interwoven with every pair of which were the words, "Lady Glenachie's Garters."—*The Time Piece, December* 6, 1797. W. K.

GLADSTONE ON AMERICAN OX TAILS.—In his recent article in the North American Review entitled "Kin beyond Sea," Mr. Gladstone pleads incompetency as his reason for avoiding discussion of topics of present interest in America. None of your readers will doubt his lack of accurate information in regard to this country after reading the following extract from a remarkable speech made by that eminent statesman at a late inspection of the Kensington School of Cookery in London.

Mr. Gladstone said: "I think a great deal of our cooking is most admirable, and that we have had no reason to complain at all; but comparing country with country, there is no donbt that some countries are very much more economical than others. I am afraid it is the truth that we are the most wasteful people on earth. I remember once hearing a curious story worth telling of the Americans. I heard from a person who travelled in America *that one day in the yard of his hotel he saw a great heap of ox tails. They were thrown away as any refuse would be thrown away*, and I was surprised at that, and I began to imagine, 'Oh, oh! then there is one country that is more wasteful than we are, and that is America.' That is the conclusion I was disposed to draw, but afterward I heard the explanation, which is a very curious one. The American habit of throwing away ox tails is an old English habit, which they carried with them from this country when the American settlements were formed. But you all know that at the time of the French Revolution a great number of priests and others came over as refugees, and were kindly received in this country. They spread their views all over the country, and I am told that these priests, long after the American settlements had been formed — indeed, after America had been separated from us politically— brought over the habit of making soup from ox tails, and taught it to the English people. Probably the way would be this: They would see ox tails thrown away, and being people to whom the saving of every farthing was important, they would buy the ox tails and make soup for themselves. The people would imitate them, with the consequence that we get in that shape a most excellent soup, for there can scarcely be more excellent soup than ox tail, and that is the very reason why in one point we are more economical than Americans." ADVOCATE.

A DISHONEST SKIPPER.—*Rhode Island, Nov.* 2, 1750. By a Vessel from North Carolina we have Advice, that some Time last Month two sloops were hired by some Spaniards to carry to the Havanna the Effects sav'd out of a Ship lately stranded on that Coast; accordingly they took on Board a large Quantity of Dollars and Cochineal, and when the Spaniards were on Shore, slipp'd their Cables, and went off; one of which Vessels got ashore on the Bar, and was taken, the other got clear off. She had on board 150,000 Dollars, and near the same Value in Cochineal. A Launch was fitted out, and came up with her; but the Fellows on Board the Sloop (being twelve in Number) appear'd upon Deck with their Small Arms, and swore they would fire if they attempted to board them: On which they left them to pursue their Course.

Boston, Nov. 12, 1750. A Spanish Gentleman belonging to a large and rich Ship of his Nation, that was lately cast away on the Coast of Carolina, is just arriv'd in Town, to endeavour to find out and recover the Money and other Effects saved out of the Wreck, and shipp'd on board a Sloop, whereof one Zebulon Wade, of Scituate, was Master, who agreed to carry the said Money, &c., to the Havannah, but clandestinely ran away with the Sloop. 'Tis said he took on board one Hundred and fifty Thousand Dollars in Silver, and the Value of one Hundred Thousand in Cochineal. If the Position of the Planets may be depended on, the said Sloop is now in one of the Rivers or Creeks of this Country, and may soon be recovered: But as we dare not presume so far upon our Skill in Astrology as to predict that all the Money &c. will be recover'd, and that the Master and his Accomplices will be apprehended; for a Man with such a Number of Dollars about him may be said to have powerful Friends. The other Sloop that attempted to get off and was stopp'd, we fear is lock'd fast to the Spanish Ship in Ocacock Inlet, entirely unrigg'd, and all the Men under Confinement. [Dean's History of Scituate, page 371, states that Zebulon, son of Joseph Wade, married, 1774, Mercy Norton, of Edgartown.] W. K.

OLD TIME CONFIDENCE IN THE MILITIA.—The young ladies of the Borough of York, Pennsylvania, high noon, (the glorious God of day pouring down upon them an unusual splendour) dressed in robes of white, presented a standard to their Brothers and Young Lovers in arms:— This was a spectacle which drew tears from the eyes of assembled thousands, and which Celestial Beings, from their happy residences might view with holy rapture. The following is the young ladies' address:

"Gentlemen: In presenting to you this standard, we confide to your sacred Keeping, our Honor, our Virtue, and our Holy Faith.

"If you expect ever to obtain our love, be assured that can only be obtained by bravely defending the Liberties, the independence, and the religion of your country."—*The Daily Advertiser, New York, Aug.* 1, 1798. PETERSFIELD.

FIRST AMERICAN EDITIONS OF ENGLISH CLASSICS.—Shakespeare was published in Philadelphia (by Bioren & Madan) in 1795. Chesterfield's Letters

were published in Boston in 1779. Burns' Poems were published in New York in 1788, and in the same year an edition was published in Philadelphia. Milton's Poems were not published in America until 1853.

Some of your bibliographical correspondents will perhaps add to this brief list of first American editions of English classics, giving in each instance the place of publication, and where possible the name of the publisher. D.

QUERIES

THE ROYAL PORTRAITS IN THE FIRST CONGRESS.—When the old Federal Hall on the corner of Wall and Broad Streets was occupied by the first Congress under the Constitution, we have been told that the Chamber of Representatives was graced by portraits of Louis XVI., and Marie Antoinette, which had been presented to the Republic by the King himself as a souvenir of the friendly aid extended by France in our struggle for Independence. The removal of these pictures from the Halls of Congress may perhaps be accounted for by the changes effected by the French Revolution, one of which was emphasized by the complaint of M. Genet, the Minister of the French Republic, that the presence of the Bust of Louis XVI. in the President's house was an insult to France. But the question has been occasionally asked, and never I believe answered, What were these historic portraits, and by whom were they painted, and what has become of them? And these questions, and especially the last, I respectfully beg leave to submit to the Editor and readers of the Magazine of American History. HISTORICUS.

THE COLUMBIAD.—Can any of your readers give a description of a volume printed at New York, in 1798, entitled "Columbiad. An Epic Poem in Twelve Books," illustrated by copper plates?

COLLECTOR.

CHEROKEE MEDAL.—In the opening chapter of Mr. W. Blades' numismata Typographia (*Printer's Register*, London, July, 1878) a reference is made to a medal presented to George Guest, inventor of the Cherokee Alphabet, "Struck at Washington" and "presented at Philadelphia" in 1823. Was such a medal ever presented, and are not these dates and places erroneous? Mr. B. also says Guest died in 1828. J. S.

CAPT. SMITH ON THE STAGE.—Stith says in his history of Virginia (p. 112,) that Capt. John Smith "lived to see himself brought upon the stage, and the chief Dangers, and the most interesting Passages of his Life, racked, as he complains, and misrepresented in low Tragadies." What were the titles of these plays in which he figured?

Brougham in our day has revived this excellent historical personage in his burlesque, "Pocahontas, or Ye Gentle Savage." DRAMATICUS.

IOWA AND SAC MISSION PRESS.—In Cotton's *Typographical Gazetteer*, second series (Oxford, 1866), 378, reference is made to a primer and some elementary books, in English and the native tongue, printed at the Ioway and Sac Mission Press, Indian Territory, 1843. Where

was this Mission Press located, and what books were printed thereat? J. S.

ANCESTORS OF ROBERT FULTON.—Can any one give the history of the ancestors of Robert Fulton, the Inventor? The name of his father was Robert, the maiden name of his mother, Mary Smith. They lived in Lancaster County, Penn., where families of the name of Fulton had been among the earliest Scotch-Irish settlers. What relation did he bear to these? A minute genealogy of the family is greatly desired. J. C. A.

GREEK COLONY IN FLORIDA.—Among the petty odds and ends of American history, little known but meriting research, is the fact that a small Greek Colony was once planted on the coast of East Florida, at a place which I think was then named New Smyrna. The only account of it which I ever met with in print was contained in a work on Louisiana, written by a Mr. Darby in the early part of this century; but the statement was a meagre one, and is very imperfectly remembered by me, as it was read in my boyhood, and nearly sixty years ago. As well as I can recollect the colony was planted a short time before Florida passed temporarily from the hands of Spain to that of Great Britain, and, while the province was held by the latter, the settlement was broken up in consequence of a collision between the Greek immigrants and the Government authorities. I cannot call to mind the nature of the dispute or disobedience; but I have the impression that the writer thought the colonists were badly treated. They dispersed, a part of them returning to their native country, and the rest scattering through the towns of the South. I have heard that Mr. Dimitry, who was, thirty years ago, a wealthy merchant of New Orleans, was descended from one of these Greek colonists; and there may be other descendants still in Florida.

This is, so far as I know, the only attempt ever made to plant the Hellenic race in the New World, and if the Editor of the Magazine to which this is addressed, or any of his correspondents, can give a more detailed history of it than my memory affords, it would, I think, be read with some interest.

R. M. P.

LAFAYETTE'S EXPEDITION AGAINST ARNOLD.—In the paper delivered before the Maryland Historical Society by Mr. John Austin Stevens, Jan. 14, 1878, and printed by them under the above title, mention is made of the march of Lafayette from head of Elk to Baltimore after his withdrawal from Annapolis.

By what route was this march made, on what day did he cross the Susquehannah ferry and was the ferry at the mouth of that river or the upper ferry where Port Deposit is now situated on Bald river ferry, still higher up the river?

Elkton, Maryland. G. J.

NEWSPAPERS PRINTED AT UTICA, NEW YORK.—I desire to know 1st: Was there ever a "Utica Patrol" after 1803? 2d: If ever, by whom published and how long? 3d: Was it united with "The Patriot," when, and by whom? 4th: If there was not a separate "Patrol;" when did "Patriot and Patrol" begin and who published it. C. K. S.

MONUMENT TO CAPT. BURROWS OF PORTLAND, ME.—Matthew L. Davis of New York, lately, when on a journey in the Province of Maine, caused a handsome monument to be erected over the grave of Captain William Burrows, who commanded the brig Enterprize, and was killed in the action with the Boxer. He lies by the side of the British captain Blythe, who was also killed, and over whose grave a monument was erected by the surviving officer of the Boxer.—*Utica Patriot, Oct.* 17, 1815.

Silas E. Burrows, a relative of the brave captain of the Enterprize, erected a monument to his memory.—*Willis' History of Portland, page* 759.

Can these two statements be reconciled? Were there two monuments over the hero? PETERSFIELD.

REPLIES

FIRST LINEN AND CALICO PRINTING IN AMERICA.—(II. 754.) It appears by the following advertisement in Leed's American Almanac for 1713, that calico stamping or printing was then practised at Philadelphia.

"In the Front Street in Philadelphia lives one John Whitesake, who Kallanders and Presses all sorts of Cloth, Silks, Sattins, Camblets, Druggets, Crapes, Stuffs and Tickins. He Glazes Linnins and Calico's, Taks Spots out of Camblet, &c. Makes Buckram Prints Linnens, Carpet and Counterpains, which will hold their Colour in washing. Old Cloths, Curtains, &c., (taken in pieces scoured or dyed) he makes as Glossy as New ones; All at Reasonable Rates."

PETERSFIELD.

Mr. H. M. Selden of Hadlyme, a member of the old Selden family of Connecticut, has a very curious and interesting piece of work that was made by his grandmother, Ruth Kirby, who lived at "Middletown Upper Houses," near Cromwell. It is a cotton bed-quilt made in 1776—one hundred and two years ago. She carded, spun and wove the cotton herself by hand, and it is a very soft piece of cloth. After the weaving she had it stamped, and a great attraction to it is this printing, which was of course done also by hand with blocks cut by hand. Two patterns are shown, each stamp appearing alternately on the cloth. The designs are noticeably free and graceful. Figures in the dress of that time, men wearing the cocked hats, are seen. There are deer, cattle, sheep, birds and other creatures, several kinds of trees with their proper foliage, and a house and a church. The house has the dormer windows, and is an ordinary looking building, but the church with its rounded tower is not like anything one would have been likely to see in this country at that period. That, and the fact that one of the figures is carrying a load on his head, and also, perhaps, the appearance of deer among the domestic animals, suggest a foreign artist as the designer, and yet, says the *Courant*, there are reasons for thinking that this work may have been done by the grandfather of the Rev. Leonard W. Bacon. HARTFORD.

PARENTAGE OF JACOB LEISLER.—(II. 494.) "Johannes Henricus Leislerus Jacobi Victoriani filius, etc. Was our Jacob a brother of this John Henry and

a son of Jacob Victorian. (I) The identity of the surnames."

The author in the hurry of translation, makes a slip. There is no such identity. Jacobi Victoriani filius, is the son of *James* Victorian not *Jacob.*

E. C. B.

BATTLE OF MONMOUTH.—(II. 408, 569, 758.) General de Peyster's explanation in your December number is not satisfactory. I think his best course is frankly to acknowledge his error in view of the documentary evidence against his statement. As he places no confidence in the official report of Sir Henry Clinton, I venture to introduce the testimony of Gen. Washington in behalf of our brave New Jersey troops; and that he may have an opportunity to examine the points at issue, I beg you to print in the Magazine the following paragraphs.

I. *From General de Peyster.* "So promptly, indeed, did Clinton move, that the American detachments sent to destroy bridges, etc., could not complete their work well or on time to avert his march."

II. *From Sir Henry Clinton.* "A strong corps of the enemy having, upon our approach, abandoned the difficult pass of Mount Holly, the army proceeded without any interruption from them, except what was occasioned by their *having destroyed every bridge on our road.* As the country is much intersected with marshy rivulets, the obstructions we met with were frequent, and the excessive heat of the season rendered the labour of repairing the bridges severely felt."

III. *From Gen. Washington.* Extract from General Orders, dated Head Quarters, Freehold, June 29, 1778. "General Dickenson, and the Militia of this State, are also thanked for their nobleness in opposing the enemy in their march from Philadelphia, *and for the aid which they have given in harrassing and impeding their motions, so as to allow the Continental troops to come up with them.*"

Facts are stubborn things.

TRENTON.

The gallant behavior of the yeomanry of New Jersey during the retreat of the British from Philadelphia, in the summer of 1778, was, I supposed, acknowledged by all American writers until I read the contributions in your Magazine of J. W. de P. As a duty to the memory of those who served in that memorable campaign, I copy the following letter from The New Jersey Gazette, of July 8, 1778, printed by that sturdy patriot, Isaac Collins, at Trenton.

Extract from a gentleman at Camp, dated English-Town, June 29, 1778.—"I have for two weeks past been with the militia of this State, under the command of Major-General Dickinson. It truly affords me the most heartfelt pleasure to see in what numbers and how suddenly, my brave countrymen poured in from every quarter, to the defense of our glorious cause. During the whole time they underwent the greatest fatigues, severe and long marches, without a murmur. In every skirmish they behaved with the greatest spirit, and appearing always confident of the courage and prudence of their General, they obeyed his orders of every kind with the utmost

cheerfulness and alacrity. At the drawbridge near Bordentown, when General Dickinson with great propriety had ordered some lines to be thrown up, they appeared anxiously to desire the arrival of the enemy. The Continental troops and great part of the militia had, however, been withdrawn, except those of Colonels Philips and Shreve, who were previously detached to guard a ford one mile further up the creek, and only the three regiments of Colonels Freelinghuysen, Van Dike and Webster remained, when a party of the enemy appeared, and with great zeal began to repair the bridge, which had been cut down—Upon the very news of their approach, the troops rushed down with the greatest impetuosity, and a small party from one of the regiments which happened to be considerably advanced, caused them to retire, after having killed four and wounded several others. In the morning the lines were again manned, but the enemy thought proper to change their rout. This conduct of the militia saved, in my opinion, Trenton and the country adjacent from rapine and desolation. In short, their conduct during the whole time, gave me the most pleasing ideas of the strong love of liberty which is natural to the human soul. Surely whilst the farmers of the country are induced by the mere fondness of freedom to leave all their domestic concerns, at this season of the year, and undergo the hardships of a soldier's life; to suffer the several fatigues, and with pleasure to face every danger—I say, whilst this continues to be the spirit of Americans —Americans must and will be free."

Newark, N. Y. S. J.

J. W. de P. in his reply to Trenton, quotes Sir Henry Clinton as marching from Monmouth at 10 P. M., on the night of the 27th *by the light of the moon*, and discredits Washington's statement that Clinton moved about 12 P. M. when the moon had set. The question of the light of Clinton's moon is readily settled by the Almanac, which tells us that on the night of 27 June, 1778, there was a new moon, which set at 10:32 P. M.

T. H. M.

Major-General de Peyster is unfortunate in his critical answer to Trenton's vindication of the heroic action of the Jerseymen who swarmed about Sir Henry Clinton and his army, harassing them and impeding their retreat through New Jersey, in June, 1778.

In order to illustrate the difficulty of reconciling contradictory accounts of past events, the critic contrasts the statements of Washington and Clinton respecting the night march of the latter after the battle of Monmouth and says very emphatically of Clinton—"I believe *him.*" The implied doubt of Washington's veracity is mitigated by the suggestion that his informants were mistaken. Gen. de Peyster's confidence in the British General seems also to be sustained by some military critics.

Now it is well known to persons who have made a study of the portion of American History involved in this discussion that the moon was but four days old on the 28th June, 1778, and its setting was a few minutes past ten o'clock. Its light, therefore, could hardly have helped the retreat, and the only advantage Clinton could take of it, was not

to be lighted on his way by its rays, but to escape in the dark, after the moon was below the horizon. Sir Henry's "moonlight flittings" were the theme of many a jest during his subsequent services in America. R. C.

SIR PETER WARREN.—(II. 680.) In the sketch of Sir William Pepperell, the first American Baronet, it is said that "Warren in his turn was made a Baronet," for the defeat of de la Jonquierè. This is an error; Warren was knighted but never created baronet. L.

A CURIOUS ENGLISH COIN.—(II. 699.) The legend on the coin described by your correspondent reads as follows: *Magni Britanniæ, Franciæ et Hiberniæ Rex, Fidei, Defensor, Brunsvickensis, et Luxembergensis Dux, Sacri, Romani Imperii Archithesaurius et Elector.*

Translated thus; "King of Great Britain France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, duke of Brunswick and Luxemburg, Elector and Arch-Treasurer of the sacred Roman Empire." Gold guineas were issued in this reign from 1760 to 1774. E. DONNELLY, M. D.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

A similar reply has been received from WILLIAM HARDEN.

Savannah, Ga.

VOLTAIRE AND LAFAYETTE.—(II. 696.) In a note to the extract of de Crève-Coeur's account of the meeting of Voltaire and the Marquise de Lafayette, J. A. S. says the allusion of Voltaire to Lafayette's distinction in America must have been to his conduct at Monmouth. This is evidently an error, as Voltaire died 30th May, 1778, and the battle of Monmouth was not fought till 28th June, 1778. SUBSCRIBER.

Subscriber is correct in his criticism. The distinction gained by Layafette was at the battle of the Brandywine, September 11, 1777, the year previous to that in which the incident mentioned occurred. EDITOR.

BOOKS WANTED.

We beg to inform our subscribers that hereafter we shall devote so much of this column as may be necessary to a department of BOOKS WANTED. *Through this medium collectors will be enabled to communicate with each other, and thus perhaps acquire books for which they have sought elsewhere in vain, or dispose of books for which they may have no further use. Collectors desiring to avail themselves of this column will please give their addresses in full, so that those who wish to communicate with them can do so directly, and not through us.*

J. HOPE SUTOR, Lock Box 1088, Zanesville, O.,
Has for sale or exchange for historical works, a copy of Knight's Shakespeare, Virtue & Yorston's Edition, 2 vols., 4to, illustrated and handsomely bound.

J. SABIN & SONS, 84 Nassau Street, N. Y. City.
Burke's Virginia, 4 vols., 8vo, *uncut.*
Beverly's Virginia, *uncut.*
(Peters, S.) History of Connecticut, London edition, *uncut.*
Brereton's Virginia, 4to.
Bullock's Virginia, 4to.
Hamor's Virginia, 4to, original edition.
Weymouth's Voyage to Virginia, 4to.
Hariot's Virginia, London, 1588, 4to.

(Publishers of Historical Works wishing Notices, will address the Editor, with Copies, Box 100, Station D—N. Y. Post office.)

MEMOIRS OF THE LONG ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Volume III. The Campaign of 1776 around New York and Brooklyn, including a new and circumstantial account of the Battle of Long Island and the loss of New York, with a view of events to the close of the year, containing Maps, Portraits and Original Documents. By HENRY P. JOHNSTON. 8vo (two parts, pp. 300—209). Published by the LONG ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Brooklyn, N. Y. 1878.

This admirable volume is the result of long investigation, pursued with judgment, zeal and unflagging industry by its painstaking author, Only those accustomed to studies of this character are aware of the difficulties which attend the collection and comparison of the extensive material necessary, even after the lapse of a century, securely to establish what would appear to be simple historic facts.

A mist has hung for a long period over the history of our State and city during the revolution. The long hostile occupation of the city, the change of its population at the close of the war and the engrossing demands upon the activity of every citizen, resulting from its rapid progress in wealth and numbers, are sufficient reason, if not excuse, for the long neglect of the past. But for the individual efforts of a few zealots, and the continuous efforts of the New York and Long Island Historical Societies, even the meagre records that remain would not have been preserved. The landmarks are rapidly disappearing in the changes of surface and opening of streets; and even in the laying out of our parks, where every historic rock or road line would be a pleasing reminiscence, no regard is paid to any such consideration.

Mr. Johnston has correctly divided his volume into two parts; the first of which recites the campaign, the second the documents which support his interpretation of its incidents. There are six admirable maps, plans and draughts, for which every student will be grateful, and four portraits of the colonels of the regiments engaged at Long Island.

Those familiar with the Lee papers will remember his commission from Washington in January, 1776, to prepare for the defence of New York against the attack which was feared at that point from the expedition known to be in preparation in England. This was the opening of the campaign, and naturally begins the narrative, the stirring scenes of which were consecutively the arrival of the British under Sir William and Admiral Howe; their occupation of the harbor and Staten Island; the adhesion of New York to the declaration of independence under the guns of the enemy; the landing of the imposing army, the flower of England's forces; the battle of Long Island, and the masterly retreat of Washington; the capture of New York; the check of the arrogant enemy at the heights of Harlem; the attempt of Howe to turn the American flank, and Washington's second extrication from the toils laid for him; the battle of White Plains, and the fall of Fort Washington. Here the story properly closes, but Mr. Johnston, with natural patriotism, not content to drop his curtain on a scene of uninterrupted disaster, avails of the full sum of privilege his title affords him, and closes the drama with the brilliant achievements of Trenton and Princeton.

During the entire year, from January, when Washington was preparing to leave his camp before Boston, until December, when driven almost to desperation, he turned upon his pursuers from behind his fastnesses in New Jersey, New York was the pivotal point of interest

Mr. Johnston has here recited in a connected form the accounts preserved in the standard histories, with many additional particulars obtained from new material supplied by the descendants of officers and soldiers who took part in the campaign. These go far to clearing up the hitherto doubtful points in regard to operations on the Brooklyn side, and also throw light on the movements upon New York Island.

We particularly note the careful attention he has paid to the battle of Harlem, the significance and importance of which was made known by the public celebration of its centennial by the New York Historical Society.

We hope that the good work, of which this is a pleasing example, may tempt other young gentlemen to similar efforts in the field of history at the principal centers of revolutionary operations.

CARTAS DE INDIAS PUBLICATAS POR PRIMERA VEZ EL MINISTERIO DE FOMENTO. Folio pp., text, 877; index, 10. Fac similes A to Z. Plates, xxii. Maps, iv. Imprenta de MANUEL G. HERNANDEZ, Madrid. 1877.

This magnificent contribution to the geography and history of the Indies was prepared by royal command of the 18th November, 1876, under the instuctions of the Count de Toreno, Minister of the Interior (de Fomento). It was dedicated to the young monarch on his accession to the throne of his ancestors, and is a happy

promise that under the reign of Alfonso XII "letters, arts and industry, the chief elements of wealth and happiness, may again prosper in Spain, as in the days of its highest grandeur." Such are the words of the intelligent minister who conceived the idea of this monumental work.

The selection and publication of the letters, all of which are now printed for the first time, were confided to Senores Justo Zaragoza, Director-General of Public Instruction, Vicente Barrantes, Francisco Gonzalez de Vera, Márcos Jiménez de la Espada and José Maria Escudero de la Peña, secretary of the commission. The letters are divided into sections. That entitled Cristobal Colon includes those of the Discoverer, of Amerrigo Vespucci, Fray Bartolomé de las Casas and Bernal Diaz del Castillo, seven in number. The section entitled New Spain includes sixty-five documents, from provincials and friars, viceroys and alcaldes, concerning the religious orders, church dignitaries, viceroys, governors, caciques, laws and regulations, and private matters in the new governments of the Spanish Indies. Guatamala and Chiapa are treated of in seven letters; Peru, under the rule of Christobal Vaca de Castro and Pedro de la Gasca, in seventeen; Rio de la Plata, under the rule of Domingo Martinez de Irula, in twelve. In all one hundred and eight original documents. The fac-similes, on tinted paper, are admirable specimens of the calligraphy of the period, in neat and quaint precision. The pages of plates supply the signatures and seals of many of the remarkable characters of this stirring age — of Colon, las Casas, Bernal Diaz, Vespucci, de Soto, Ximenez, de la Cruz and others. The maps are: I, of the outlines of the continent of Australia; II, of the rivers of the Amazon, Esequivo or Dulce and Orinoco and the adjacent countries; III, of the Antilles, the Gulf of Mexico, its coasts, and those of North America; IV, of the Straits of Magellan and Le Maire.

In the prologue to the volume the members of the commission report to the Minister that they have chiefly selected from the documents recently procured for the national historical archives those written by those most distinguished in the discovery and conquest in the New World, and having reference to facts least known, without regard to the effect their publication might have upon the fame of some of the distinguished heroes. Quoting the remark of an eminent writer (not Spanish), that the discovery of the Indies must be considered without dispute as the most important event in the history of the human race, and expressing the belief that this assertion may well dispense with any attempt to justify the actions of those men who were governed and controlled by the irresistible force of circumstances, they claim that until recently their great deeds have never been examined or judged with a purpose to present them, according to the modern documentary method, in their true light.

Besides the careful editing of the letters under the divisions above described, the commission resolved to illustrate the text with ample notes, a geographical vocabulary, biographical sketches and a brief glossary; all of which greatly enhance the value of the work to the student in foreign lands. Particular attention is invited to the peculiar and appropriate character and tint of the admirable paper which is used in the work, as well as the execution of the chromolithographic maps, by the Geographical Institute, and to the plates which were produced by processes new in Spanish bookmaking, all of which are creditable in the extreme to the bureau from which they emanated.

Above all, the commission hold up to public praise the merits of the enlightened minister, to whose initiative this splendid volume is due. A few copies have been sent by the Spanish Government to institutions of learning and public libraries in the United States. The New York Historical Society was designated as the depository for the State of New York. We shall return to the contents of this volume in another form, and endeavor to lay before our readers the value of the new information therein contained.

POTTERY AND PORCELAIN OF ALL TIMES AND NATIONS, WITH TABLES OF FACTORY AND ARTISTS' MARKS FOR THE USE OF COLLECTORS. By WILLIAM C. PRIME, LL.D. 8vo, pp. 531. HARPER & BROTHERS, New York. 1878.

The most original, and the best of our thinkers, Ralph Waldo Emerson, in his late striking lecture on the Fortune of the Republic, prophesied that among the other favored aims of mankind, not only every useful but every elegant art will find their home in America. The useful arts have received here every protection and favor of government, but the progress of those which may be justly termed elegant depends in a country, by its newness essentially given to that which is practical, upon individual labor. The growth of our private institutions for the study of the arts, and the exhibitions to promote that study, show that private enterprise, in a nation where the power of the individual is so great under free institutions, is not unequal to reach the high future which Mr. Emerson predicts. In this superb volume, which the Harpers have published in the highest style of the printing art, with abundant illustrations in all known variety of practical engraving, will be found the beginning of a literature until now unknown with us. In Mr. Prime's book the lovers of pottery and porcelain

and collectors of beautiful specimens of this now recognised branch of art will find abundant material for study and thought. Beginning with the history of the Ancient Pottery of Egypt, Assyria, the Holy Land, Greece and Rome, and passing through that of Modern Pottery of the Saracens and European nations, and continuing through that of the porcelain of China, Japan, India and Europe, he carries us to the pottery and porcelain of England; our American collectors will take special interest in all that relates to his section upon Holland. It is impossible in our limits to more than note these sections. Part V. is especially devoted to the pottery and porcelain of America; this he divides into three sections: 1st, on ancient American pottery; 2d, on pottery and porcelain of the United States, and 3d, on American collections. In the first, by the illustrations in the text, he shows such a relationship between specimens of the potteries found in Peru, Central America, Mexico, and thence northward to Missouri, that no reasonable doubt can exist of a community in the art. In the second, he treats of the progress of the art after the settlement of America by Europeans; in this we find little but an imitation in a crude way of the most ordinary kind of European earthenware, yet while nothing original was here produced, the general upturning of public and private fortunes in Europe, consequent on the French revolution, sent to this country numerous and valuable specimens of the best work of the most famous factories of the continental kingdoms. In the third section of this part of his book he has what he calls, in his own words, "a free talk" with American collectors of the Ceramic art; to this we invite the attention of our American collectors. In it they will find a list of the prices obtained at the great sales of Sèvres and Wedgwood wares of late years.

The last chapter is devoted to an account of marks on pottery and porcelain in their three classes of factory marks, artists' marks and dates, all of which are illustrated by fac-similes.

A thorough index closes this admirable volume. It is needless here, when the results of Mr. Prime's excellent volume are patent in the acclimation of the Ceramic art in America by the increasing interest of both amateurs and practical workers, to say more. Mr. Prime has and will hold the honor of being first in the literature of American Ceramic art.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF SCIENCE. Twenty-sixth meeting, held at Nashville, Tenn., August, 1877. 8vo, pp. 400. Published by the permanent Secretary (FREDERICK W. PUTNAM), Salem, Mass. 1878.

The essentially scientific nature of these reports takes them beyond the pale of our review but the present volume contains three papers of general concern to the student of American archæology and anthropology. The address of Professor Daniel Wilson, Chairman of the subsection of Anthropology, is peculiarly interesting. The system of Agassiz is here succiently stated to have favored the idea of various American centres within which the diverse varieties of American man originated, and from which they were distributed over the entire continent. The recent progress of science has effected a total revolution in reference to this question. The idea of a plurality of origin and of distinct races of men has now given way to a belief in a more comprehensive unity, which embraces all men in a descent from a center common to them with other animals. The analogies of language on both continents seem to indicate a direct relationship and intercourse between the inhabitants, and the highway to the Pacific as familiar to both. Passing to Archæology we find an account of the recent discoveries in the Delaware drift, in which, near Trenton, rude stone implements were found by Dr. Abbott, and believed by him to have been fashioned by man during the glacial period.

Mr. Henry Gillman contributed a study concerning the artificial perforation of the craniums in ancient mounds in Michigan. This curious custom of perforating the top of the head after death is a puzzle to modern observers; the balance of probability leaning to the belief that it was intended as a mark of honor. The skeletons, the skulls of which are found thus perforated, are generally in a standing position, invariably of adults and probably of the male sex.

The interesting paper by Colonel Garret Mallery, U. S. Army, on the former and present number of our Indians, was noticed in our November number.

RECHERCHES SUR LES NAVIGATIONS EUROPÉENS FAITES AU MOYEN AGE AUX COTES ACCIDENTALES D'AFRIQUE EN DEHORS DES NAVIGATIONS PORTUGAISES DU XVI. SIECLE. Par GABRIEL GRAVIER, Officer d'Académie, etc. Paris: E. MARTINET. 1878.

This very valuable production was brought out at the last Geographical Congress, and presents in a compact form the studies of one whose abilities and zeal qualify him to follow in the steps of Viscount Santarem. While seeking to do justice to other nations, his chief aim has been to prove that the Normans showed the Portuguese the way to the Cape of Good Hope. With an abundance of notes and references, this work will be found an admirable guide to the subject, which is too broad for discussion here.

CHARLOTTE CUSHMAN; HER LETTERS AND MEMORIES OF HER LIFE. Edited by her friend, EMMA STEBBINS. 8vo, pp. 308. [The Riverside Press, Cambridge.] HOUGHTON, OSGOOD & CO., Boston. 1878.

It by no means follows that a brilliant or great character finds a biographer to do justice to its distinguished traits. Few men would be satisfied with their portraitures as drawn by those to whom the task usually falls. Every Johnson does not find a Boswell, nor every Scott a Lockhart to draw in minute touches and with loving hand the traits of the master or friend.

The star of Charlotte Cushman, whose life was a series of successes and triumphs, has followed her. She could not have selected a more appropriate intellect and nature on which to rely for an appreciation of her strong peculiar qualities than that of the lady who on the title-page terms herself her friend.

In one sentence in the earlier pages of the book Miss Stebbins strikes the key-note of the character of the great actress. "All her life-long her friendships were of the nature of passions." This impassioned, fervid nature, added to a magnificent physique, was the secret of her striking successes in tragic or highly melodramatic parts. Who that has seen can ever forget the strength of her Lady Macbeth, or the wild savageness of her Meg Merrilles—and yet not pleasant memories are these. Among actresses she filled the place of Forrest among the actors. Powerful, original, striking, admirable were both; but neither a representative of the highest culture or refinement.

The English school is at best a coarse school. It is doubtful whether even the greatest of the actors of the elder time would have satisfied the exacting, critical judgment of our day. Both Forrest and Cushman were of this school. We are fain to believe, though induced to take little on trust in matters of taste, which every age judges for itself, that Fanny Kemble united refinement with power. The conjunction is rare. Refinement was not a quality of Charlotte Cushman's acting. She stood, however, confessedly at the very head of American actresses. The biographer has omitted nothing which can throw light upon her training and method. She had an acquisitive and retentive memory. Her inspiration was never fettered by any side mental effort. Her introduction to the stage was with the performance of a part, which may be termed the crowning success of a female tragedian on the English stage—Lady Macbeth. This was in New Orleans in 1835. In 1842 she filled an engagement with Macready. Forrest, strange to say, receives but one and that a casual mention in the whole volume.

Miss Stebbins met the actress at Rome in 1850-7, and the friendship of the two artists seems to have continued without interruption. Her daily life; her devotion to her art, which she believed superior to and comprehensive of all others; her sufferings under powerful disease; her life at her Newport villa; her farewell to the stage in New York, the occasion of a great ovation, all find their place in this complete volume. The story is chiefly told in the letters of Miss Cushman herself; Miss Stebbins, with delicate tact, standing modestly in the shadow of the artist's robe. To her friends, Charlotte Cushman was something more than human; her tread confessed her origin divine. A kindred spirit of her own sex described her death as the dropping of a curtain upon a vanished majesty. She was of her day.

ELEVENTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE TRUSTEES OF THE PEABODY MUSEUM OF AMERICAN ARCHÆOLOGY AND ETHNOLOGY. Presented to the President and Fellows of Harvard College, September, 1878. Vol. II, No. 2. Printed by order of the Trustees. Cambridge. 1878.

In the opening remarks of Mr. Robert C. Winthrop, the learned and distinguished Chairman of the Board of Trustees, may be found an account of the origin of this great gift of our American philanthropist. In its ten years of existence the museum has amply justified the liberal foundation. The building in Cambridge was opened on the 18th February, 1878. It is constructed of dark red brick, with brown stone trimmings, and granite steps and underpinnings, and is eighty-seven feet by forty-four. Mr. Frederick W. Putnam is the present Curator.

The report gives a detailed account of the progress of the institution, the additions to the museum and library during the year, and includes several interesting archæologic papers; notably one on the implements found in the glacial-drift of New Jersey, by C. C. Abbott, and one by the Curator on the explorations in Tennessee. The papers are abundantly illustrated by engravings in the text.

THE NEW YORK GENEALOGICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL RECORD. Devoted to the interests of American Genealogy and Biography. Issued quarterly. October. IX. 4. Published for the Society. New York City.

In this number of the Record Mr. Purple continues his contributions to the history of the ancient families of New York. Additions are given from the records of the Reformed Dutch and the first Presbyterian church, and from the records of Rahway and Plainfield.

THE ANNALS OF THE ARMY OF TENNESSEE AND EARLY WESTERN HISTORY. Conducted by Dr. E. L. DRAKE. Volume I, No. V. August. A. D. HAYNES, Nashville, Tenn. 1878.

The purpose of this young monthly periodical is, in the words of the editor, to promulgate the record of Confederate achievement. It will no doubt serve to preserve many details of the history of those who took part in the struggle for the lost cause. A repository of this kind will have enduring value.

The present number contains some notes on Kirby Smith's Kentucky Campaign. A reply of Jefferson Davis to Colonel Colyar, which reveals the entire want of accord between the concurrent branches of the Confederate Government. Mr. Davis is just beginning to open his eyes to the causes of his failure. A diary of a private in the Forty-first Tennessee, and an article on the Evacuation of Nashville complete this number of the Annals. Afterwards we have some sketches of early western history; the number closing with the soldiers' war-bag, a collection of stories of Confederate prowess. We wish Dr. Drake all possible success in his enterprise.

CONGRÈS INTERNATIONAL DES AMÉRICANISTES. COMPTE-RENDU DE LA PREMIÈRE SESSION, NANCY, 1875. 2 vol. 8vo. (pp. 481 et 478.) MAISONNEUVE & CIE., Paris. 1875.

On the 25th August, 1874, the Société Américaine de France, with Ed. Madier de Montjau, President, and Emile Burnouf, Secretary, invited an International Congress of Americanists to meet at Nancy, in July, 1875. The first article of the Statutes declares that "The International Congress of Americanists has for its object to contribute to the progress of ethnographical, linguistic and historical studies relating to the two Americas, especially concerning the period anterior to Christopher Columbus, and to bring into communication with each other, persons interested in such studies."

The Congress met in the Ducal Palace. In its four days session a large variety of interesting papers were communicated. They make up the two volumes now under notice. Among the North American papers the reader will find: 1st volume, The Dighton Rock, by M. G. Gravier; Grave Creek Inscription, by M. Lévy Bing; the Indians of the United States, by M. de Semallé; an Iroquois Manuscript, by M. Léon de Rosny; the Moundbuilders, by M. Joly: 2d volume, The Cheyenne Language and the Quichua; the Dérie-Dindjiés, by R. P. Petitot; The Quaker Society, by M. Maguin; The Creek and Chippeway, by M. Lucien Adam; The Newark Inscription, by M. Henry Harrisse; America in Remote Ages, by Mr. Francis A. Allen; An Asiatic Immigration, by R. B. Petitot; Pre-historic Canada, by M. le Métayer-Masselin.

The Congress passed a resolution to admit all persons who should make application to the Secretary of the Central Committee at Luxembourg for a *member's* ticket, and pay the sum of twelve francs, which would also entitle him to a copy of all of its publications.

CONGRÈS INTERNATIONAL DES AMÉRICANISTES. Compte-rendu de la seconde session, Luxembourg, 1877. 2 vols. 8vo. (pp. 539 et 471.) MAISONNEUVE & CIE., Paris. 1878.

These two volumes contain a report of the transactions and papers at the second session of the Congress held at Luxembourg in September.

Neither the plan or limits of our department of Literary Notices permit us a critical review of the proceedings of these interesting sessions. We must confine ourselves to the simple mention of such of the papers as directly concern students of the history of the North American Continent.

In the first volume we find The Mound-Builders of America, by Robert S. Robertson. Osteologic evidence of the ancient Mounds of Michigan, by Henri Gillman; America in remote ages, or the origins of Primitive Civilization in the New World, by F. A. Allen; The Mound-Builders, by W. D. Peet; to what race did The Mound-Builders belong? by Mr. Force; The European Colonies of Markland, and of Escociland up to the sixteenth century, and their existing remains in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, by E. Beauvois; The Course of the Mississippi, by Gabriel Garnier; Chronological marks of the history of the Mound-Builders, by M. Stronck; Americus Vespucius, by Dr. Schoelter; The Eries or Ka-Kueaks and their destruction by the Senecas, a tribe of the Five Nations, by Abbé Schmitz; The Voyage of Verrazzano, by M. Desimoni.

In the second volume, The Rockford Stone, by M. Moody; a critical examination of sixteen American Languages, by M. Lucien Adam; Principles of the Crees Language, by R. P. Rémas; The Stone Age at the Philadelphia Exhibition, by M. Emile Guirnet; a Rock-retreat in Pennsylvania, by M. S. S. Haldemann; The primitive dwelling place of the Esquimaux, by M. H. Rink; The early antiquities of Man in America proved by the Flint stones, by M. Leon Engling; The Antiquities of Greenland, by M. Valdeman Schmit; a portrait of Christopher Columbus, by M. Rinck.

The Congress adjourned to meet at Brussels on the 23d September, 1879. Among the sub-

jects named to make part of the 'order of the day' at this third session are: What is known of Norumbega, Colonization of the Mouths of the Mississippi, Progress of American Cartography during the Sixteenth Century, Character of the designs upon Stone Objects found at Behring's Straits, Antiquities of the several states of the Dominion of Canada, Traditions of the White Man and of the Sign of the Cross, Tertiary Man in America, Natives of Acadia at the time of the arrival of the first French explorers, Mounds west of the Missouri and in the Brittanic possessions of North America, Grammatical Differences between the Esquimaux and other North American languages.

The first day will be devoted to discussions of pre-Columbian history of America and the history of the Discovery of the New World; second to Archaeology; the third to Anthropology and Ethnography; the fourth to Linguistics and Paleography.

MONETARY AND INDUSTRIAL FALLACIES. A DIALOGUE. 8vo. pp. 248. HOUGHTON, OSGOOD & CO., Boston. 1878.

Attention has already been called to the work on Political Economy in the use of money by the same author (J. B. Howe). The dialogue was intended to form a part of it; this ancient form of instruction being adopted because of the advantages it presents for the meeting of opposite arguments. The same general criticism applied to the former work may equally be applied to this. Political economy is not a new science; not yet an abstruse one. Banking makes a small part of political economy, and the rules by which it is governed vary with the character of the population and the nature of the production or industry it is organized to serve. Manufacturing and mining districts require a different treatment from strictly commercial cities. The secret of successful banking is in the repeated turn of capital upon short credits. Of course the even ratio of reserve to liabilities which Adam Smith prescribes must be maintained, but there is no strength like the rapid return of discounted capital.

While upon the subject we commend to careful reading a profound article in the Revue des deux Mondes of August 15, 1878, on the production and consumption of gold and silver, where the immutable principles of sound finance are stated with French precision. The French are the only great financiers, and their management both of national and local finances is a marvel of correct application of true principles. Here M. Laveyleye states clearly the one axiom of national finance, that a circulation is strong only as it is strong in gold and silver, which alone are money. The reader will also find some views on the conduct of the United States on the silver question, which differing from those of the majority of our best financial minds will, in their defence of the *honesty*, if not the policy of the silver bill, gratify his national pride.

THE SETTLEMENT OF BURLINGTON. An Oration delivered in that city December 6, 1877, by HENRY ARMITT BROWN, in commemoration of the Two Hundredth Anniversary of its settlement by the passengers of the good ship Kent, who landed at Raccoon Creek, August 16, O. S., and laid out the town on Chygoe's Island "towards ye latter part of ye 8th month," 1677. Published by resolution of the citizens. 8vo, pp. 68. Burlington, N. J. 1878.

An instructive and charmingly written sketch of this ancient peaceful village, past "which the centuries have flown so softly that she has hardly heard the rustle of their wings." The talented orator, whose future was of such bright promise, has, unfortunately for our literature, passed to an early grave.

West Jersey was settled by two companies of Friends, disciples of George Fox; the one from London, the other from Yorkshire. They embarked in the Kent, and received the parting blessing of King Charles II., who was pleasuring in his barge in the Thames. The merry king was no doubt delighted to be rid of such dismal company. The old church of St. Mary's was founded in the reign of Queen Anne. Before its door Whitfield preached, and in the adjoining graveyard lie the remains of Elias Boudinot, the President of Congress, and of Attorney-General Bradford of revolutionary fame. Burlington was also the home of the gallant Lawrence of the Chesapeake, and of later worthies, who have reached distinction in the liberal professions and practical walks of life.

RHODE ISLAND SOCIETY OF CINCINNATI. THE ANNUAL MEETING IN THE STATE HOUSE AND COMMEMORATIVE DINNER AT THE NARRAGANSET HOTEL, PROVIDENCE, R. I., ON THE FOURTH OF JULY, 1878. 8vo, pp. 8. J. A. & R. A. REID, printers, Providence, R. I.

A reprint from the newspaper press of the proceedings at the annual meeting and commemorative dinner of this ancient society. We have already noticed its recent reorganization, with Hon. Nathaniel Greene of Newport as its President.

THE MONETARY SITUATION. AN ADDRESS DELIVERED BY REQUEST OF THE AMERICAN SOCIAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION AT ITS MEETING IN CINCINNATI, May 21, 1878, by S. DANA HORTON, with an appendix. 8vo. pp. 58. ROBERT CLARKE & Co., Cincinnati.

There is a great deal of excellent thought and reasoning in these few pages, to the conclusions of which Mr. Laveyleye's article just quoted by us on the production and consumption of the precious metals gives strong weight. Both believe in the absolute necessity of a bimetallic standard. Mr. Horton believes with Mr. Cernuschi and Mr. Laveyleye, that silver must be restored as the currencies of England and Germany. Beyond this Mr. Horton appears to believe in the waiting process. The policy adopted by Mr. Chase of making the greenback a legal tender is condemned in these pages as unnecessary and unwise. That policy was determined—indeed, forced upon the department—by the conduct of bank officers who, disappointed that their institutions were not permitted to extend their own irresponsible issues, *threw out the treasury notes*, which were not the legal tender, declining to receive them except at a discount, if at all. In self-defence the Government made their acceptance obligatory. It is idle to say that with our enormous expenditure, specie payment could have been maintained during the war. There was not coin enough in the country to maintain one-half of the paper currency at par—indeed, the best European observers doubt our ability now. It is unprecedented in the history of finance that any nation has been able to maintain the parity of paper with coin, unless the metal be largely in excess of the paper. A great deal of passion has been wasted over the silver question. It has its bright sides. Let us move slowly in these momentous matters.

TOPICAL COURSE OF STUDY FOR THE COMMON SCHOOLS OF THE UNITED STATES. By R. C. STONE. Part I—Topical Course for Elementary Schools. Part II—Topical Course for High Schools. 16mo, pp. 114. A. S. BARNES & Co., New York and Chicago. 1878.

The superiority of the American system of popular education over that of England or the Continent has been universally acknowledged since the remarkable displays in the educational departments at the Philadelphia and Paris Expositions. To this superiority the practical ingenuity applied to instruction has largely contributed. This topical course of study, the preface informs us, is a compilation from the courses of study of our most successful schools, and the best thoughts of leading educators. It enables the pupil to make use of *any* and *all* text books bearing on the given topics, and also includes all other relevant information within his reach. It promotes a symmetrical growth of knowledge, which is the first essential of a successful school system.

THE PENNYPACKER REUNION, OCTOBER 4, 1877. 8vo, pp. 52. BAIN & PENNYPACKER, printers, Philadelphia.

This is an account of a Reunion of the descendants of Heinrick and Eve Pannebocker, which was held in picnic style at Pennypacker's Mills in the village of Schwenksville, Penn., on the 4th October, 1877, the one hundredth anniversary of the battle of Germantown, with which the village is associated. Six hundred and ninety-eight invitations were extended. The Historical Society of Pennsylvania was represented, and many public men participated in the celebration. A sketch of the family was read. From it we learn that the first emigrant of the name—Heinrich—was of Dutch origin and came to America prior to the year 1702. He belonged to the sect of Mennonite Quakers to whom William Penn offered great inducements to make his colony their place of refuge. Arrived in Pennsylvania, he made considerable land purchases, amounting in the aggregate to three thousand four hundred and sixty-two acres. He married about 1705. In war, the record of the family has been striking. Notwithstanding their Mennonite spirit, several were engaged in the revolutionary army; and they took their part in the War of 1812 and that with Mexico. General Galusha Pennypacker won his rank at the attack on Fort Fisher, at the age of twenty-two, the youngest general officer in the U. S. service.

LIFE AND ITS RECORD IN THIS GENERATION. An Anniversary Address delivered before the New York Genealogical and Biographical Society, April 11, 1878, by SAMUEL OSGOOD. 8vo, pp. 17. Printed for the Society. New York. 1878.

We have already called attention to this instructive address. Dr. Osgood recalls the services done to literature, science and art by a galaxy of illustrious men, of whom Cooper, Irving, McVickar, Anthon, Alexander and Bethune represented New York culture, and Bryant, Bancroft, Dewey, Channing and Morse that of New England. In the present sketch, which we are glad to see in this separate form, is added a warm tribute to Bryant, who has now passed into history, as Homer in Greece, Virgil in Italy, Shakespeare in England, as the National Poet of America.

THE CERAMIC ART. A COMPENDIUM OF THE HISTORY AND MANUFACTURE OF POTTERY AND PORCELAIN. By JENNIE T. YOUNG, with 464 illustrations. 8vo, pp. 487. HARPER & BROTHERS, New York. 1878.

In this volume the author announces her purpose to bring the results of recent research to bear upon some of the unsolved problems of "the science of Ceramics," and to condense the wide literature on the subject into one comprehensive history. Her titles are divided into books, reciting I, the nomenclature and methods; II, the Orient, with an early account of the art; III, Europe; IV, America. This last is divided into chapters upon South America, Central America, the Mound Builders, Indian pottery, and the United States. In the Mound Builders and Indian pottery we find an excellent digest of the knowledge on the subject. In the last chapter on the United States is an account of the potters of the present day, and an opinion of the brilliant future in store for the Ceramic art of America, based upon the rapidity of its recent progress and its present high excellence. Here will be found a description of the rich and inexhaustible beds of fine kaolin, or clay, in the deposits of Pennsylvania, Illinois, Missouri and Indiana, of common white-ware clay in New Jersey, of abundant felspar in Maine, Connecticut and Maryland, and of equally abundant quartz or silica in Pennsylvania and Maryland, while we are informed that every section of the United States, from the Rocky Mountains to the State of Maine, has raw material in great variety as yet untouched. This promises well for our American Factories, while it is remarked that English clay is still imported, for want of a proper preparation of the native clay. This volume also closes with an excellent index, an indispensable addition to works of this character. This admirably printed volume, bound in the inexpensive and beautiful style of American art, with which nothing from foreign publishers, either English or Continental, can at all compare, comes from the press of the Harpers,

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THE ART INTERCHANGE. A HOUSEHOLD JOURNAL. Published at No. 84 East Nineteenth street, New York.

This little paper is devoted to the interests of the Society of the Decorative Art, whose exhibitions are doing great service in the popularizing of good taste in matters of household use and ornament. Among its contributors we observe the well-known names of Mr. William C. Prime, Mr. Louis Tiffany, Mr. Russell Sturgis and General de Cesnola. We hope it may receive the support it deserves.

Among the recent triumphs of American industry we notice, upon exhibition in the pottery collection, some ware contributed by Miss MacLaughlin, of Cincinnati, the glazing upon which is said to be of hardness and finish equal to the best of Limoges workmanship. If this prove to be the fact, a new industry is opening for American manufacture.

THE AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN. A quarterly journal, devoted to early American History, Ethnology and Archæology. Edited by Rev. STEPHEN D. PEET. Vol. I, No. 2. July and August. Published by BROOKS, SCHINKEL & Co. Cleveland, Ohio. 1878.

Mr. Edwin A. Barber opens the second number of this periodical with a comparison of the Pueblo Pottery with the Egyptian and Grecian Ceramics, an article well illustrated with text engravings. He invites attention to the close resemblance of the forms of vessels made by ancient Pueblo races to some of the ancient Greek and Egyptian vases; especially disclaiming, however, the intention of advancing any hypothesis of race origin of the American peoples. Following this are short articles on the traditions of the Deluge among the tribes of the Northwest. There seem to be two traditions of a general destruction of life by water—one of a deluge by a falling rain, the other by a rising tide. Mr. Gatschet contributes a sketch of the Klamath language, and the editor an excellent analytic account of the location of Indian tribes from the pages of historians and travelers.

AMERICAN JOURNAL OF NUMISMATICS AND BULLETIN OF AMERICAN NUMISMATIC AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY. Quarterly. October. Vol. XIII, No. 2. Published by the Boston Numismatic Society. 1878.

In this number we find a continuation of the list of centennial medals, which is the most important part of this number. Another on Masonic medals, also a continuation, has a special interest to the members of the order.

MASONIC MONTHLY; A MAGAZINE devoted to the interests of the Masonic Fraternity in General and of the Pacific Coast in Particular. Vol. I, No. 6. September. J. W. KINSLEY, publisher. San Francisco, California.

In this special publication may be found an account of the movement of the mysterious order on the Pacific coast. There is a list of California lodges, two hundred and fifty in number.

THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW. Thirteenth year. October. STRAHAN & CO. London, 1878. November, 1878.

In the October number we find an article which well deserves the attention of American readers. It is entitled England and America as manufacturing competitors, by Mr. James Henderson, who recently made a personal visit to some of the manufacturing districts of North America. Mr. Henderson does not believe that because the American manufacturer may find it to his advantage to ship goods to England at the present moment, it naturally follows that we are capable of permanent competition in an open market with our English rivals. While he acknowledges that North America possesses such unbounded natural wealth and resources that it would be rash to place a limit on her capabilities in a remote future, he finds in the evil influence of unsound restrictive commercial legislation a potent disqualification for successful competition.

The advantages of the American cotton spinner over his British competitor he estimates to be, *first*, more convenient access to the raw material; *second*, important natural advantages in the shape of water; *third*, a better educated and superior class of working people. Per contra, the advantages of the English cotton manufacturer are, *first*, the lower rates of interest upon capital; *second*, the lower cost of buildings and machinery and mill furnishings; *third*, lower wages when trade is in a normal condition; which is rendered possible by the lower cost of living in England; *fourth*, a sounder system of taxation; *fifth*, lower rates for fuel and for light; *sixth*, more convenient and ready access to the markets of consumers. The balance of advantage he considers to be on the side of the English manufacturer, and he does not look with alarm upon American competition in textile fabric. It is consoling to the American, however, to know from such a source that all of the English advantages can be overcome by a change in our legislation, while the superiority nature give us is immutable and eternal.

THE AMERICAN COLLEGES AND THE AMERICAN PUBLIC (new edition), WITH AFTER-THOUGHTS ON COLLEGE AND SCHOOL EDUCATION. By NOAH PORTER, D.D., LL.D., President of Yale College. 16mo, pp. 403. CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS. New York.

The first large edition of this work has been for many years the authority on the subject whereof it treats. A second is now submitted by the learned author, with the addition of several new papers. Dr. Porter disclaims the idea of exhaustive treatment of any of the subjects in these essays, but holds them out as suggestions. The book was originally written to meet the public demand upon the colleges of the United States to answer for their trust. This distrust of our colleges and of their systems of education was a consequence of the assaults upon the great schools and universities of England in the war against the too great prominence given to classics in the lecture room. Of late years the reaction has carried us too far. Both history and language are derivative, and without the Latin we of English descent cannot understand the meaning of our vocabulary, and without the Greek the purpose of the new words introduced by common accord into modern languages to keep pace with the requirements of progressive science.

The closing chapters are devoted to the Ideal American University and the Co-education of the Sexes. Both are as yet in their tentative stages.

ORIGINES ET FONDATION DU PLUS ANCIEN ÉVÊCHÉ DU NOUVEAU MONDE, LE DIOCÈSE DE GRŒNLAND, 986–1176. Par E. BEAUVOIS. Paris, E. DUFASSÉ. 1878.

We have read this work with very great interest, and find it pervaded by a thoroughly historic spirit, and by historic methods, from beginning to end. The author has made a very careful study of the Saga literature, and has a perfect command of his subject, which, with due respect to the indefatigable editors of *Grænlands Historiske Mindesmærker*, has never before found so able a presentation. M. Beauvois shows as clearly as need be, that from the discovery of Greenland, at the end of the tenth century, to Post-Columbian times, there was never a lack of communication between the two countries, and that the Permanent Bishopric, founded and represented by Arnold, was practically continued to the sixteenth century. This memoir is taken from the proceedings of the Society of History, Archæology and Literature of Beaune, and demonstrates that French scholarship is thoroughly alive to the importance of a critical study of every subject connected with early America.

SOUTHERN HISTORICAL SOCIETY PAPERS. Vol. VI, No. 5. November. Edited by Rev. J. WILLIAM JONES, D.D. Richmond Virginia.

In this number the notable articles are General Longstreet's reply to General S. D. Lee's claim to have established the artillery in position at Manasses on the occasion of the second battle there; the reports of Admiral Buchanan and Commander J. D. Johnston on the naval fight in Mobile Bay.

SECOND EDITION OF THE MONEY QUESTION—THE PAST AND FUTURE ASPECT OF THE LEGAL-TENDER PAPER-MONEY SYSTEM OF THE UNITED STATES. A History of Banks and Banking on both Continents. Also a description of National Banks and the gold basis system; the Effect of resumption of Specie Payment, and unrobes the inter-convertible bond of its mysteries. By WILLIAM A. BERKEY. 8vo, pp. 392. Grand Rapids, Michigan. 1878.

This is another of the arguments in favor of paper money, which we distinctly desire to have separated from the word greenback. We know of no better currency than a greenback issue by the United States, made by a reserve of coin in the Treasury interchangeable with gold and silver; but no currency is or can be money. The drift of the present volume may be seen from the statement of the author, that the specie basis of Great Britain has centralized the wealth of the kingdom, and reduced the industrial classes to poverty. On the contrary, he claims that France is freely supplied with paper, to take the place of coin when it is scarce. The converse is so notoriously true that it need only be stated. In England the proportion of coin to paper is five of coin to two of paper. In France twelve of coin to five and one-half of paper. It is the large specie basis of France that preserves her from money perturbations. It is the small specie basis of England which subjects her to them. The strength of a financial system is in its base, and the only base is coin.

We believe with Mr. Berkey that the real issue for the American people to decide is not between specie and paper money, but between the bank currency system and the legal-paper money system. But until the paper money of the country, whether greenbacks or bank notes, we care not which, shall be largely reduced, and coin take its place in circulation, any discussion of the ulterior future of greenbacks or bank paper is unprofitable and futile.

MONEY IS POWER — A SCIENTIFIC, HISTORIC, AND PRACTICAL TREATISE ON THE SUBJECT OF FINANCE, with over sixty Statistical Tables illustrative of the history and pointing the arguments embraced in the work. Also a Review of Authors. By R. W. JONES. 16mo, pp. 374. BRYAN, BRAND & CO. St. Louis. 1878.

The purpose of the author in this volume is to present the statistical facts and monetary history, collected in the course of an investigation of the subject of money, in a useful and systematic form. In his deduction Mr. Jones adopts what is currently termed the greenback view. He believes the financial distresses of the country to have been caused by the contraction of the currency since the war, and that the resumption act continues the evil, and fastens upon the country what he terms the destructive policy of contraction. In point of fact, however, the circulating medium of the country is sufficient for all demands upon it, as is evident from the fact that gold is not yet floating from hand to hand. The withdrawal of fifty millions of paper, whether of greenbacks or National Bank notes, it is immaterial which, would in our opinion be followed by a flowing into the circulating medium of an equal amount of coin to fill the vacuum, precisely as the smaller silver pieces flowed in to take the place of the retired fractional paper. This injection of gold into the circulating medium can now be continued without perturbation, and a solid money basis, similar to those of France and England, be established for credit and business. The resumption act, as interpreted by Mr. Secretary Sherman, "will keep the promise to our ear aad break it to our hope." No greenback redeemed should be reissued. Of course Mr. Sherman cannot thus deplete his treasury by the redemption of the greenbacks without a corresponding filling up. This can only happen by a surplus of revenue, which is not probable, or an issue of a funding bond, which should be the first business of Congress.

ALLOCUTION FAITE A LA SOCIETÉ DE GÉOGRAPHIE DANS SA SÉANCE DU 21 NOVEMBRE, 1877. Sur la 2de Session du Congrès International des Américanistes. Par GABRIEL GRAVIER, Membre de la Société. Rouen. 1877.

This Allocution, by M. Gravier, author of the work entitled "Découverte de l'Amérique par les Normands au Xè Siècle," recently crowned by the Paris Geographical Society, will prove a timely publication for those who are unable to go through the two volumes devoted to the recent Congress at Luxembourg. M. Gravier, in a clear, comprehensive manner, exhibits the work done, and brings forward into prominence the most notable acts, at the same time indicating something of the programme for the coming Brussels Congress, which will take up amongst other subjects those of "Verrazano" and "Norombega. It is to be hoped that the Congress next autumn may be duly represented by able and accomplished Americans, and that it may be furnished by American authors with copies of their recent works, that investigators abroad may be fully informed of what is transpiring here.

THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW. Edited by ALLEN THORNDIKE RICE. November–December. No. 265. D. APPLETON & Co. New York. 1878.

This is universally admitted to be the most brilliant number of this excellent periodical. The leading article, from the pen of the accomplished statesman, Horatio Seymour, treats of the Government of the United States, and the problems that confront it in the near-by future. The increase of our population at the rate of more than a million and a half last year is the first and most startling fact it has to deal with. And here Mr. Seymour asks if our systems of State or General Government are fitted to meet such a change? In his reply to this question, he shows that the safety of our institutions lies in the fact that the spirit and genius of our political system tend to check the power of majorities; the converse of which is generally believed both at home and abroad. Any controversial discussion of distribution of power between the General and State Governments is carefully avoided.

The American system of government springing from the individual is commended in glowing words. "Under it our country has attained its power, its prosperity and its magnificent proportions. Look at it upon the map of the world. It is as broad as all Europe. Mark its boundaries! The greatest chain of fresh-water lakes upon the globe bathes its northern limits; the Atlantic and Pacific wash its eastern and western shores, and its southern borders rest upon the great Mediterranean Sea of Mexico. Our policy of government meets every local want of this vast region; it gives energy, enterprise and freedom to every community, no matter how remote or small; and this is done so readily and so peaceably that the process resembles the great and beneficent operation of nature." Brave and timely words, now that it has become the fashion to decry American institutions, and belittle American character. To the honor of Governor Seymour be it said, that in the hours of darkness and distrust, when men walk about the streets, crying woe! woe! woe! he has not despaired of the republic. Of such stuff were the men who laid the foundation of American freedom, and by such, of whatever party, under the blessing of heaven, it shall be maintained.

Among other elaborate and excellent papers, we call special attention to one by James Parton on Antipathy to the Negro, in which he discusses the relative feeling of the white to the negro and of the negro to the white, existing under the systems of slavery and freedom. He notes that color repugnance is usually observed to be strongest in the meanest. Prejudice is as inherent to ignorance as superstition. Better knowledge, Mr. Parton beautifully says, makes better feeling, and all over the world begins to soften the prejudice of ages. Finally he congratulates the South on the possession of the negro, through whose assistance alone will the grand agriculture thrive, which cannot flourish unless there is a class to labor and individuals to contrive.

Hurling the negro into politics Mr. Parton holds to be the cruelest stroke ever dealt since he was snatched from his native land. The United States Government had only the choice between protecting the negro by the bayonet or the ballot box. Both experiments have failed. Nor was the success of either possible without an entire remodelling of the territorial divisions of the subjugated States.

AMERICAN COLLEGES — THEIR STUDENTS AND WORK. By CHARLES F. THWING. Small 8vo., pp. 159. G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS. New York. 1878.

This treatise opens in a most confident and hopeful manner, and we are of opinion that the author is not astray in his assertion "that the most delightful feature of the history of college education in America is the constant expansion of the curriculum." In the old colony days the reading of the classics and an insight into theology were the essential results of a college education. The best of the institutions was little more than a high school. To-day Harvard and Yale and the lesser colleges in their wake have spread into universities, at which any branch of study can be pursued with profit.

Mr. Thwing's book gives an account of the present status of instruction, morals, health and scholarship in our several colleges.

AN INQUIRY INTO THE NATURE AND CAUSES OF THE WEALTH OF NATIONS. By ADAM SMITH, LL.D., F. R. S. 16mo, pp. 780. R. WORTHINGTON. New York. 1878.

We are glad to see that the demand for this standard authority, the very text-book of political economy, has called out a new edition, and that it is published at a price which brings it within easy reach. In a country like our own, where the vote of the most ignorant individual has as much weight as that of the most intelligent, it is of first consequence to spread among the masses sound doctrines; and we undertake to say that there is no farmer or manufacturer in this country who would not profit by a reading of Adam Smith's famous book, the strong common-sense lessons of which, put in a style of wonderful clearness, carry conviction in their very statement. We have but to test the thousand fallacies concerning the nature of money by his plain reasoning to detect the false from the true.

WESTERLY (RHODE ISLAND) AND ITS WITNESSES FOR TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTY YEARS, 1626–1876. Including Charlestown, Hopkinton, and Richmond, until their separate organization, with the principal points of their subsequent history. By Rev. FREDERIC DENISON, A. M. 8vo, pp. 314. J. A. & R. A. REID. 1878.

This well-edited and handsomely printed volume treats of the townships occupying the southwestern corner of the State of Rhode Island. Until its issue the chief authority upon the personal and local history of Rhode Island has been the Hon. Willkins Updike's History of the Episcopal Church in Narragansett, into which, with true antiquarian verve, he inscribed the traditions of the settlement. In the preparation of the present volume Mr. Denison had the good fortune to fall upon the records of the Presbyterian Church. Westerly had her witnesses in the historic scene of the revolution. Governor Ward went from Westerly to represent Rhode Island in the Continental Congress. Doctor Joshua Babcock was one of the most eminent men of his day; he was the personal friend of Franklin, who always made his home a resting place on his official tours. There is a separate chapter on graves and graveyards. Some excellent illustrations add to the interest of the volume. Our one regret is that there is no index, a great omission in a work of this character, the main value of which is for reference.

GENEALOGY OF THE LEFFERTS FAMILY, 1650–1878. By TEUNIS G. BERGEN. 8vo, pp. 172. JOEL MUNSELL. Albany. 1878.

This is a well-arranged and printed account of a well-known family, descended from Leffert Pieterson van Haughwout, who emigrated in 1660 from Holland, and settled in Midwout (Flatbush), Long Island, upon land now occupied by successors in the fifth generation, among whom John Lefferts of Flatbush and the wife of J. Carson Brevoort. A full-name index, simply and admirably arranged, bears witness to the judgment and thoroughness of the editor.

GENEALOGICAL NOTES, PART SECOND. Illustrated by Coats of Arms and Facsimiles. By LAWRENCE BUCKLEY THOMAS. 4to, pp. 54. (With an appendix of fac-similes.) LAWRENCE B. THOMAS. Baltimore. 1878.

In our April number (II, 255) a notice appeared of the first part of this elaborate work. This second part relates to the same subject, the Thomas family and those connected with it, and contains merely such corrections and additions as had been received at the date of its publication.

AMERICAN ORNITHOLOGY, OR THE NATURAL HISTORY OF THE BIRDS OF THE UNITED STATES. Illustrated with plates engraved from drawings from nature. By ALEXANDER WILSON and CHARLES LUCIAN BONAPARTE. Popular edition. 8vo (three volumes in one), pp. 214, cxxxii and 390, 426. PORTER & COATES. Philadelphia.

This is, as its title imports, a popular edition of this famous work on American birds. Wilson was a Scotchman by birth, who emigrated to this country in 1794, and by the advice of Bartram the tourist turned his attention to ornithology, in the pursuit of which study he made extensive pedestrian tours over the then unsettled country. Prevailing upon Bradford, the Philadelphia publisher, to undertake the enterprise, he printed the first volume of his collections in 1808. Years were spent by him in obtaining subscribers to meet the expense of the vast undertaking and in the increase of his store of knowledge. He published seven volumes, and left behind him material for two more, which were edited after his death in 1813. The work was later continued with similar enthusiasm by Charles Lucien Bonaparte. The enterprising publishers have done a good work in placing within popular reach this inexpensive and handy volume.

DER DEUTSCHE ERINNERUNGEN AUS DEM PIONIER-LEBEN DER DEUTSCHEN IN AMERIKA. Band 10, Heft 7. September.

This monthly continues to give the record of the early American settlers of German origin, and notices of the careers of the most successful and distinguished in the various walks of life.

LIFE OF ALEXANDER H. STEPHENS. By RICHARD MALCOLM JOHNSTON and WILLIAM HAND BROWNE. 8vo, pp. 619. J. B. LIPPINCOTT & Co. Philadelphia. 1878.

The manuscript of the biography of this eminent statesman was submitted to his perusal and carefully read by him. It therefore carries with it the authority of an autobiography. Mr. Stephens is not only a man of mark in public life, but an attractive character to a large circle of friends and acquaintances. He is descended from one Alexander Stevens, an English Jacobite, who fled to this country after the failure of the rising of forty-five, and after some service in the Braddock campaign, settled at the junction of the Juniata and Susquehanna rivers.

His grandson, the subject of the memoir before us, was the son of Andrew B. and Margaret, his wife, one of a Pennsylvania branch of a North of Ireland family of the name of Grier. He was born in 1812 on the banks of Kettle Creek in Wilkes county, Georgia, to which spot his grandfather had removed. With a limited education, obtained at one of the old field-schools and at the Locust Grove Academy, a Roman Catholic institution, he was sent by a friend to the Academy at Washington, Georgia. Here he received profound religious impressions, and at one time intended to enter the ministry. Later he changed his plan, and after a course of teaching began his studies for the bar at Crawfordville, a small Georgia town. His first public address was a Fourth of July speech, in which he distinctly avowed the political principles he has since consistently sustained—the sovereignty of the States and their right of individual secession. In 1836 he was elected to the State Legislature, and again elected in 1840, joining, though with many misgivings, in the movement which overthrew Van Buren, and placed General Harrison in the Presidential Chair. In 1841 he declined a reelection to the Legislature, and was chosen to the State Senate in the fall; the declaration of the principles of the Georgia Whigs in 1842 was from his pen. He was at once acknowledged as one of the leaders of his party, and in 1843, when but thirty-one years of age, was chosen representative to the United States Congress. In the campaign of 1860 he favored the election of Mr. Douglas. When Lincoln was elected and secession had begun, he was persuaded to go to the convention called to take action for Georgia, and cast his vote against the withdrawal of Georgia from the Union, defending the right, but not believing in the expediency of secession. Still his views carried him with his State, and he was elected to the Provisional Government at Montgomery, and unanimously elected Vice President of the Confederacy. Here we must leave this interesting volume. His subsequent career is matter of well-known history. His social character is well known. He is one of the most companionable of men, the most fascinating and agreeable of companions. Like Lincoln, he combines in his temperament a morbid proneness to meditation, with genial and sometimes mirthful moods. He has always been an original and independent thinker, one of those who diffuses, but rarely reflects intellectual light.

A MEMOIR OF WILLIAM HENRY GUEST. By FREDERIC DE PEYSTER, LL.D., F. R. H. S. 8vo, pp. 36. New York. 1878.

This is a grateful tribute from Mr. de Peyster, the Secretary of the Board of Trustees of the Leak and Watts Orphan House, in the city of New York, to the memory of its excellent and lamented superintendent.

It comes with a peculiar grace from the pen of this gentleman, who is immediately connected with the family of Robert Watts, the legatee and devisee of John George Leake, to whose liberality New York is indebted for this useful charitable institution.

STUDENT'S TOPICAL HISTORY-CHART FROM THE CREATION TO THE PRESENT TIME, including Results of the Latest Chronological Research, arranged with Spaces for Summary that pupils may prepare and review their own chart in connection with the study of any history. By I. P. WHITCOMB, Principal of Young Ladies' Seminary, Brooklyn, N. Y. A. S. BARNES & CO. New York, Chicago and New Orleans. 1878.

There is no doubt of the practical use in instruction of these tabulated forms. The eye is the great medium by which knowledge is acquired. To the great majority of minds that which is heard is soon forgotten, that which is committed to memory leaves no certain impression even, but that which is seen remains stamped upon the retina for a long period. The advantage of charts prepared in this manner is that the student, having the benefit of careful arrangement of the main facts of history, can supplement them by the additional facts ascertained by his own investigation, and by a well-known mnemotechnic law fasten them both upon his memory, the one recalling the other. The chart before us seems to be well adapted to this process of study.

THE WHITE HORSE OF WOOTTON. A Story of Life, Sport and Adventure in the Midland Counties of England and on the Frontier of America. By CHARLES J. FOSTER. 8vo, pp. 421. PORTER & COATES. Philadelphia.

This spirited story opens in the woods of Wootton, in which the white horse is introduced by apparition. In the next chapter a red horse in flesh and blood comes upon the scene, mounted by the hero of the tale, Tom Scarlet of Grange.

It is not long before Mr. Scarlet is safely landed in America, and crossing the prairies which skirt the Santa Fe trail. Here we find also the white horse in the flesh; both man and beast passing through adventures which even in their extravagance are not impossible on our American frontiers.

ORATION PRONOUNCED BY COLONEL CHARLES C. JONES, Jr., on the occasion of the Unveiling and Dedication of the Confederate Monument, erected by the Ladies' Memorial Association of Augusta, in Broad street, in the city of Augusta, Georgia. 8vo, pp. 9.

Those accustomed to the quiet and usually dignified style of the accomplished orator will be somewhat surprised to see the somewhat extravagant and hyperbolic flights of oratorical fancy here indulged in. History, poetry and romance are all ransacked for examples of heroism equal to that displayed by the Confederate soldiery.

THE EAST AND THE WEST—A SERMON PREACHED IN TRINITY CHURCH, BOSTON, ON SUNDAY MORNING, SEPTEMBER 22, 1878. By ARTHUR PENRHYN STANLEY, D.D., Dean of Westminster. 8vo. A. WILLIAMS & Co. Boston. 1878.

The visit of this distinguished gentleman, who represented not only one of the most famous of English Chapters, but one of the most illustrious of the noble houses of the Old World, will be long remembered by all whose happy fortune it was to be brought into personal contact with his genial and human character, his strong common sense, his rapid and impulsive judgments, and his keen, crisp manner of criticism. In the closing words of this sermon, the point of which is that religion must be the bond between the Eastern and Western nations, as Christ was the bond between the Eastern and Western races, Hebrew and Gentile, the eloquent Dean commends to each the work of moral regeneration, "a work which requires all the reverence, all the seriousness, all the repose of the East, all the activity, all the freedom, all the progress of the West; all the long past of Europe, all the long future of America—a work in which neither can do for the other, but a work which both can do together."

We wait with interest for the publication of the farewell sermon delivered at Grace Church, New York, which was full of apposite and characteristic reflections on American character, as it had presented itself to him on his visit.

THE NEW ENGLAND HISTORICAL AND GENEALOGICAL REGISTER. October, 1878. Boston.

This number contains several valuable papers, two of which carry illustrations. One, a Memoir of Nathaniel Greene, the well-known founder of the Boston Post newspaper; a second, a paper by Frederick Kidder on the discovery of North America by John Cabot in 1497, with a section of the Mapa mundi of Sebastian Cabot and a chart of the route of John Cabot. The writer expresses a natural surprise that we have not yet had from England a thorough history of the Cabots, compiled from materials recently brought to light.

CORRESPONDENCE OF HARTLIB, HAAK, OLDENBURG AND OTHERS OF THE FOUNDERS OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY WITH GOVERNOR WINTHROP OF CONNECTICUT, 1661–1672. With an introduction and notes by ROBERT C. WINTHROP, LL.D. Reprinted from the proceedings of the Society. 8vo, pp. 49. Press of JOHN WILSON & SON. Boston. 1878.

This pamphlet contains a number of interesting letters, obtained by Mr. Winthrop from the Royal Society through the intervention of Sir Henry Holland. They were addressed by Governor Winthrop of Connecticut to the first Secretary of the Royal Society, and give a curious insight into the amount of knowledge on subjects of natural philosophy then current.

In addition to these, Mr. R. C. Winthrop contributes from his own ample store of early American treasures two letters from Samuel Hartlib, the Master Hartlib to whom Milton addressed his essay on education, and whom Winthrop styled "the Great Intelligencer of Europe;" also letters from Haak and Oldenburg, both friends of Milton's also, and likewise from Lord Brereton and Sir Robert Moody. They all show an eager desire on the part of the wise men of England to learn all they could about the new country, over which the star of civilization had paused in its western transit.

A HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA FOR THE USE OF SCHOOLS. By JOHN R. G. HASSARD. With an introduction by the Rev. J. L. SPALDING, D.D., Bishop of Peoria. 12mo, pp. 378. Appendix, 27. THE CATHOLIC PUBLICATION SOCIETY Co. New York. 1878.

In the preface the reverend prelate announces the purpose of the introduction of this volume in the list of text-books of Roman Catholic schools to be to see that in the education of American youth the teachers do not lose sight of the rise, progress and social influence of the church in the United States. If the comments of the teachers who use the volume are as free from sectarian bias as the book itself, we do not see

that much religious influence will be exerted on the scholar. We can perfectly understand that the Catholics desire to exclude books which carry attacks upon themselves. We are glad to bear witness that Mr. Hassard has not committed the error of which they complain.

OUR WINTER EDEN—PEN PICTURES OF THE TROPICS. With an Appendix, containing the Seward–Samana Mystery, now made public. By Mrs. WILLIAM LESLIE CAZNEAU. [Satchel series.] 4to, pp. 130. THE AMERICAN PUBLISHING COMPANY. 1878.

The vein of this pleasing little fiction calls up to memory the charm of tropical life, with its lazy indifference to all that does not touch the sense. The famed beauties of Cuba are well known to many of us from actual experience. Here we are taken in imagination through the recesses of the historic peninsula, and permitted to breathe the odors of the orange groves of Samana. In the appendix the author supplies a leaf for the history of the diplomatic mystery, which is connected with this Summer Eden, a spot which Mr. Seward endeavored to acquire for the United States. We here learn why the Dominican Government declined to carry out the proposed bargain and the consequent dismemberment of their republic, and why the agent of Mr. Seward was compelled to return with the first instalment of the purchase money.

FREE TRADE IN MONEY THE GREAT AND PRINCIPAL CAUSE OF FRAUD, POVERTY AND RUIN. STRINGENT USURY LAWS THE BEST DEFENCE OF THE PEOPLE AGAINST HARD TIMES. An answer to Jeremy Bentham. By JOHN WHIPPLE, LL.D., of Rhode Island. With an introduction by NAHUM CAPERS, LL.D. 8vo, pp. 62. AMERICAN NEWS COMPANY. New York. 1878.

The older members of our generation are familiar with Whipple's article on usury laws, first published in 1836. We do not care to touch upon this question. The folly of any restriction on the free flow of money is sufficiently demonstrated by the well-known fact that money is cheapest where there are no laws restricting its price. Nor can we follow Mr. Capers in his introductory argument. He tells us that "Money is not property." No economic conclusion which depends upon such a premise as this comes within reach of ordinary reasoning. This modern school of finance needs an alphabet, a grammar, a dictionary and a code of logic of its own.

GEORGIA; A GUIDE TO ITS CITIES TOWNS, SCENERY, AND RESOURCES. With tables, containing valuable information for persons desiring to settle within the limits of the State. By J. T. DERRY. With illustrations. 8vo, pp. 199. J. B. LIPPINCOTT. Philadelphia. 1878.

We have repeatedly called attention to the value of these guide-books, and of the importance to libraries of having complete collections of them. They preserve an amount of local information which is extremely difficult to obtain elsewhere. This is an excellent guide for travelers also, and with its pretty illustrations will be a welcome companion to those who visit Georgia on business or pleasure.

In this volume we find the reasons for the rapid growth of the Empire State of the South. An excellent school system and a liberality towards Northern settlers have attracted a large and enterprising population, which before the war gave her power, and is now regenerating her politically and morally.

CATALOGUE OF THE CHESS COLLECTION OF THE LATE GEORGE ALLEN, ESQ., I.L.D. Prepared by his Executors, F. A. JACKSON and G. B. KEEN. 8vo, pp. 89. Philadelphia. 1878.

We notice this catalogue, which carefully describes no doubt the most important and extensive collection on the subject in America; one only inferior to three or four of those in Europe. It is well printed, with bibliographal notes.

SMITHSONIAN ARCHAEOLOGIC COLLECTION OF THE UNITED STATES NATIONAL MUSEUM in charge of the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C. By CHARLES RAU. 4to, pp. 104. Published by the SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION, Washington City. 1876.

Professor Rau, whose researches in American archaeology are well known to all engaged in this branch of investigation, and whose opinions carry with them an almost undisputed authority, was entrusted in 1876 with the classification of the Smithsonian Archaeological and Ethnological Collections. While engaged upon this work he prepared the elaborate account now presented. The objects are classified in their separate divisions of Stone, Copper, Bone Horn, etc.; and the text is elaborately illustrated by engravings. The Smithsonian Collection is already a great store-house of this curious material, and is every day increasing its treasures by the contributions of intelligent investigators in every part of the continent.

NO DYNASTY IN NORTH AMERICA—THE WEST BETWEEN SALT WATERS; HUDSON BAY A FREE BASIN LIKE THE GULF OF MEXICO; HUDSON STRAIT A FREE GATE LIKE THE STRAIT OF FLORIDA; MANITOBA, LIKE LOUISIANA, A MARITIME STATE; NORTH AMERICA FOR CITIZENS, NOT FOR SUBJECTS; THE WEST AND ITS WAYS OUT TO THE COAST AND IN FROM THE OCEAN. Miscellany. By THOMAS S. FERNON. 8vo, pp. 89. For sale at BRENTANO'S LITERARY EMPORIUM. New York. 1878.

The comprehensive title sufficiently indicates the purpose of the author of this politico-economic tract. He looks to the annexation of the British American States, and points out the advantages which will come from Hudson Bay as a distributing basin in summer time. A great deal of unnecessary field is traversed in this argument, which would have been more clear if its limits had been narrowed.

LES CAISSES D'ÉPARGNES AUX ÉTATS UNIS. Par M. JOHN P. TOWNSEND. 8vo, pp. 24. A. CHAIX & CIE. Paris. 1878.

This is a memoir read before the International Scientific Congress of Provident Institution, which met in the Palace of the Trocadero, Paris, 4th July, 1878. It was translated from the text of Mr. Townsend, well known as the Vice President of the Bowery Savings Bank, by the Secretary of the Congress (M. de Malarce). It conveys in a brilliant and lucid manner the present condition of our savings institutions. From it we learn that there were 626 savings banks in the United States; in eight States, containing nine millions of inhabitants, that the deposits reached the sum of $783,264,256 from 2,184,264 individuals, an average of 358 dollars for each individual.

A general law of the United States, which would require the investment of fifty per cent. of the deposits in United States securities, would give security to these institutions, and make a proper resting place for so much of the Government indebtedness.

ROBINSON'S EPITOME OF LITERATURE. Monthly. Published by F. W. ROBINSON & Co. Philadelphia. 1878.

This excellent periodical deserves its name as a careful record of literature as it appears. In the number before us we find also an article of considerable interest on the Private Libraries of Philadelphia; the subject of the present paper concluding the account of the collection of Mr. Henry C. Lea.

IN MEMORY OF WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT, BORN 1794, DIED 1878. 4to, pp. 72. EVENING POST OFFICE. New York. 1878.

In a cheap and convenient form, this volume presents the articles printed in the New York Evening Post soon after the death of the great poet, who was for so many years the chief editor of that paper. It appropriately begins with Thanatopsis, his earliest, and closes with The Flood of Years, his latest work. It is prefaced by a photograph.

THE NATIONAL GUARDSMAN. A Journal devoted to the interests of the National Guard of the United States. CHARLES A. COFFIN, Publisher, 85 and 87 John street, New York.

This monthly is the first publication we have noticed that is entirely devoted to the militia of the country. As everything that relates to this branch of the service, which has played an important part in our history from the colonial to the present time, is of value, we are glad to see a regular publication of this character in a shape that can be preserved for reference by students of military affairs. To the industry and judgment of its enthusastic publisher, Mr. Charles A. Coffin, the well-known printer, the public is indebted for the conception of this periodical, which we are rejoiced to hear is an established success.

COLLECTIONS OF THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Vol. V. Fifth series. 8vo, pp. 532. Published by the Society. Boston. 1878.

This volume contains the first section of the Diary of Samuel Sewall, 1674 to 1729, comprising the part from 1674 to 1800; a period of remarkable interest in the history of the Commonwealth. An introduction supplies a genealogy of the Sewall family and of those allied to it. The volume is prefaced by a fine engraved portrait of Judge Sewall, from what is supposed to be an original picture, and is supplemented by an exhaustive and well-digested index. This publication has been long looked forward to with interest as a repository of authentic information as to the manners and customs of the Puritans of New England, a race of which he may justly be called the last legitimate representative. Our readers are familiar with the admirable essay upon this diary by Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge, a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, prepared from the advance sheets of this volume, and printed in our number of November, 1877. The publication of the diary will be continued by the Society.

OUR MERCHANT MARINE—A VOICE FOR AMERICAN COMMERCE. By CHARLES D. HILL. Third edition, revised. 16mo, pp. 64. D. APPLETON & Co. New York. 1877.

This is a powerful plea from a gentleman, whose voice is well entitled to a national hearing from his peculiar advantages to speak of the subject whereof he treats, in favor of reasonable subsidies to foster an American marine. The facts and figures presented show in what manner the United States have lost, and are still rapidly losing, their position as a maritime power. By a judicious system of government aid, Great Britain has interwoven the world with the network of her steam marine, and acquired a hold on the markets of the South American States which it will take us a long time to weaken.

THE LIFE AND SERVICES OF COMMODORE JOSIAH TATTNALL. By CHARLES C. JONES. 8vo, pp. 255. Appendix, pp. 4. MORNING NEWS PRINTING HOUSE. Savannah. 1878.

This memoir of a gallant seaman, whom his companions in arms in the lost cause delight to honor, was written at the request of his family, and bears the weight of authority. The Commodore belonged to a Georgia family, who descended from an emigrant from England to South Carolina in the beginning of the last century. Josiah was born at Bonaventure, the family estate, in 1795. His mother was the daughter of Edward Fenwick of South Carolina. He was commissioned midshipman in the United States Navy in 1812, served with distinction under Decatur against the Algerines; in the Mexican war on the coast service, and at Canton in the joint attack of the American and English forces on the forts in 1859. When Georgia left the Union he went out with her, and entered the Confederate service. In 1862 he succeeded Buchanan in command of the Virginia, and blew her up to escape capture. After the war he resided for some time in Nova Scotia, but returned to Savannah, where he died in 1871. The personal incidents of his career are well narrated in this volume, which will remain an enduring testimony and an historic record of events, which grow in interest as time rolls by.

THE PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY. No. 3 of Volume II.

In this number of this excellent Magazine we find several interesting articles. The leader by Professor Oswald Seidensticker of the University of Pennsylvania gives an account of William Penn's travels in Holland and Germany in 1677, which throws considerable light on the state of religious thought on the European continent. Penn paid little attention to nature or art in his travels, but neglected no individual who could further his schemes of colonization or aid the cause of the Friends. He even interviewed Peter the Great, the Russian Czar, in behalf of the Friends, but whether his winning manners touched the callous heart of the wise but unsentimental prince we do not learn. The military operations near Philadelphia in 1777–78 are described in a letter from Tom Paine to Dr. Franklin. This is followed by a paper on the Stamp Act in New York and Virginia, by Charles R. Hildeburn, from the Swift papers in his possession.

A fine steel-plate engraving of Francis Hopkinson, from a painting by himself, prefaces the number, as an illustration of a sketch of Hopkinson, one of the centennial collections of biographies.

AN ORATION BEFORE THE HISTORICAL AND ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY OF NEWBURY, ESSEX COUNTY, MASS., September 11, 1878, commemorative of the Settlement of Newbury, A. D. 1635. By GEORGE D. WILDES, D.D. 8vo, pp. 27. T. WHITAKER. New York. 1878.

The reader need not look to this oration for any historic reminiscences of the town of Newbury. That field, the author tells us, was fully covered by its patient and judicious historian, Joshua Coffin. The orator discoursed upon subjects of general historic interest, from Runnymede to Plymouth Rock, and closed with an eloquent apostrophe to his tempting theme, "Old Newbury."

ILLUSTRATED GUIDE AND SOUVENIR OF DETROIT. With new Map. 16mo, pp. 67. SILAS FARMER & Co. Detroit, Michigan.

This prettily illustrated little volume will be found a handy and instructive companion by visitors to the lake city.

THE AMERICAN PORTRAIT GALLERY, WITH BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES. 4to (in numbers). J. C. BUTTRE. New York. 1879.

In this gallery our well known engraver is doing a good work by presenting portraits and biographical sketches of some of the most prominent Americans in various walks of life. The text is carefully prepared, and the portraits, among which we particularly notice as excellent those of John Russell Bartlett and the late Evert A. Duyckinck, are of general interest.

HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN WHALE FISHERY FROM ITS EARLIEST INCEPTION TO THE YEAR 1876. By ALEXANDES STARBUCK. 8vo, pp. 767. Plates, vi. Published by the author. Waltham, Mass. 1878.

In the introduction to this volume we learn that its preparation was undertaken at the request of Professor Spencer F. Baird, United States Commissioner of Fish and Fisheries, whose labors in the preservation and propagation of this important element of our food and commerce have been so signally successful from Maine to Oregon. The Report gives an account of the celebrated whaling posts of Nantucket, Long Island, Cape Cod, Salem, Boston, Rhode Island, and Martha's Vineyard, from 1700 to 1750; of the same, and New Bedford and Williamsburgh from 1750 to 1784, a period when foreign wars diminished the whaling fleet, but give ample employment to the hardy seamen who manned it. Little was left of it in 1784, and the record from that year to 1812 is one of varying and uncertain life. The peace of 1815, which established sailors' rights, gave an instant impulse, and in 1820 Nantucket alone had a fleet of seventy-two ships, with an aggregate of 20,449 tons, besides smaller craft. During the civil war in 1865 the Shenandoah made havoc in the Pacific with the peaceful fleet, pursuing her captures into Behring's Straits. But this was not without its compensation to the Union cause, as thousands of men, driven from their employment, enlisted in the United States Navy, and at Mobile, New Orleans and on the blockading squadrons applied the *lex talionis* with merciless severity.

In 1871 the Arctic fleet met with a terrible disaster. Thirty-four vessels off Point Belcher were crushed in the ice, and at one time there were twelve hundred shipwrecked seamen in Honolulu. Whaling has since declined, and on the 1st January, 1877, the entire fleet was reduced to one hundred and twelve vessels. The narrative of the rise and fall of this great business is full of chapters of thrilling interest. A continuous table, covering several hundred pages, gives the record of all the vessels engaged from 1784 to 1877, a monument of patience, research and industry.

THE LIFE AND MILITARY SERVICES OF General WILLIAM SELBY HARNEY. By L. W. REAVIS. With an introduction by General CASSIUS M. CLAY. 8vo, pp. 477. BRYAN, BRAND & CO. St Louis. 1878.

The life of this well-known soldier includes an eventful period of our history. His first commission was dated February 13, 1818, and his earliest service was in pursuit of the Lafitte pirates, who invested the swamps of Louisiana at that time. He was prominent in the two Seminole or Florida and Black Hawk, all Indian wars, and later as Colonel of Dragoons in the Mexican war, where he did good service during the siege of Vera Cruz. A quarrel with General Scott led to his being relieved of his command. He was tried by court-martial for disobedience of orders on charges preferred by General Worth, and was reprimanded by order of the court. Marcy, who was then Secretary of War, sympathized with Harney, and by order of the President rebuked Scott. Restored to his command, he again broke orders, but being successful in a gallant affair at the Madellin, was excused by his commander. At Cerro Gorda he distinguished himself by a brilliant charge upon the Mexican batteries, which he carried, and was promoted Brigadier-General. At Contreras he was equally dashing, and at the conclusion of peace was ordered to Washington with dispatches. Later he served in the Indian country and against the Mormons.

In 1859, with characteristic independence, he resolved to settle the dispute with regard to the English occupation of the Island of San Juan on the Oregon coast by the sword, and took forcible possession. He was sustained by the Government, and maintained his position until the arrival of General Scott as an arbiter; the dispute resulting in an ultimate abandonment of all British claims to the territory in dispute.

When the civil war broke out he was in command at St. Louis, but was shortly after removed from the command of the Department of the West by Mr. Lincoln. Upon this part of his career his biographer claims to have vindicated the character and conduct, the honor and patriotism of General Harney. He was placed upon the retired list early in 1861, and General Lyon placed in command.

An interesting chapter is devoted to the American Indians, with whom, from first to last, Harney had much to do.

THE JOHNSON MANOR — A TALE OF THE OLDEN TIME IN NEW YORK. By JAMES KENT. 16mo, pp. 304. G. P. PUTNAMS'S SONS. New York. 1877.

The scene of this story, the main incidents of which are drawn from a family record, and described many years since by a prominent actor in the drama of life it portrays, is laid in the Mohawk Valley. The time the beginning of the present century. In one of the chapters will be found an interesting and vivid description of the famous Thayendanega.

THE MEXICAN REPUBLIC—AN HISTORIC STUDY. By C. EDWARDS LESTER. 8vo, pp. 104. THE AMERICAN NEWS COMPANY. New York. 1878.

The purpose of this pamphlet appears to be an argument in favor of Diaz, and a denunciation of Lerdo, whom the author considers the arch enemy of the peace of Mexico. A sketch is given of the history of the country under Spanish rule. A comparison is drawn of its condition in the fifteenth and nineteenth centuries, and an account of the national movements since 1857. The one great need of Mexico is closer commercial relation with the United States, and the author recommends the establishment of a Zollverein for the entire American hemisphere. The outward pressure of the products of the Western United States will ere long bring about a compulsory solution of the problem.

WAMPUM. A PAPER PRESENTED TO the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia. By ASHBEL WOODWARD, M. D., of Franklin, Conn. 4to, pp. 61. J. MUNSELL. Albany. 1878.

This paper, originally read before the Society in 1868, is now for the first time given to the public. It treats of Indian money from the day when the Cacique of Cuba offered to Columbus, on his landing from his second voyage to the New World, a string of shell-beads as assurance of welcome, until the final decline of its use among our own Indians. It was in use in New York in 1693 as an equivalent for silver in small sums, and accepted for ferriage for half a century; often the only circulating medium among the Dutch, and for a quarter of a century a legal tender in New England. The last recorded instance of its use as a ratification of a treaty was at Prairie du Chien in 1825.

THE GRAVEYARDS OF BOSTON. Firt volume. Copp's Hill Epitaphs. Prepared by WILLIAM H. WHITMORE. 8vo, pp. 116. JOEL MUNSEEL. Albany. 1878.

In the year 1852 Thomas Bridgeman published a book entitled Memorials of the Dead in Boston, which purported to contain an exact transcript of the inscriptions in Copp's Hill burying ground. The want of exactness and completeness in the work gave rise to the present publication, which contains two thousand inscriptions, the accuracy of which is beyond question, since they were prepared by the late Thomas B. Wyman, Jr., well known for his thoroughness and painstaking in all labors of this kind.

Equally faithful copies of the inscriptions in other graveyards in old Boston were made by Mr. Wyman for Mr. Whitmore, and we sincerely trust that the present volume will meet sufficient encouragement to warrant their publication. The work is well enough printed, and there are plates of the various coats of arms on the stones.

The King's Chapel yard, the first in Boston proper, was fenced in 1642; the second in date, the Copp's Hill yard, which was designated as the new place for burial by an order of the town in 1660.

THE AMERICAN PRINTER—A MANUAL OF TYPOGRAPHY. Containing practical directions for managing all departments of a printing office, as well as complete Instructions for Apprentices. With several useful tables, numerous schemes for imposing forms in every variety, hints to authors, etc. By THOMAS MACKELLAR. 8vo, pp. 383. MACKELLAR, SMITHS & JORDAN. Philadelphia. 1878.

In a note to this, the eleventh edition of this standard authority of American printing offices, the publishers announce that its success is without a parallel in typographical literature; ten editions, or about ten thousand copies, having been disposed of since the day of publication. While an indispensable hand-book to the practical printer, it is full of information that any one who has anything to do with book-making, whether as publisher, editor, writer or proofreader, should thoroughly understand.

THE ETHICS OF SPIRITUALISM — A SYSTEM OF MORAL PHILOSOPHY FOUNDED IN EVOLUTION AND THE CONTINUITY OF MAN'S EXISTENCE BEYOND THE GRAVE. By HUDSON TUTTLE. 16mo, pp. 155. Published by the RELIGIO-PHILOSOPHICAL PUBLISHING HOUSE, Chicago. 1878.

We have here an effort to base a system of morals upon the constitution of man. The author scouts the idea that man has ever had any higher estate than the present, and needs no other redemption than he is certain to obtain by his inherent susceptibility of infinite improvement. In spiritualism and its teachings of the future, the author seems to find more authoritative lessons of morality than are to be derived from the experience of the past. We are asked to listen to a voice. To us, we frankly admit, no voice from beyond the confines of this world has ever made itself audible. In the words of the poet, the author "hears a voice we cannot hear."

THE INTERNATIONAL REVIEW. November–December, 1878. A. S. BARNES & Co. New York. 1878.

This number closes the fifth volume of this valuable periodical, which increases in interest. Following the example of the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, a new feature is introduced in the beginning of a serial novel; A Shocking Story, by Wilkie Collins. Of interest to historical students, we especially note articles by George W. Julian on Pending Ordeals of Democracy; by A. R. Spofford on The Government Library at Washington; by Horace White on the absorbing topic; After Specie Resumption—What?

Mr. Spofford's article is of peculiar value to all who concern themselves with the progress of our great public libraries. He takes up the history of the Government collections at Washington at its inception in 1800, with the modest appropriation of five thousand dollars from Congress, and follows it through its various vicissitudes to the present day, when its shelves hold 340,000 books, besides 120,000 pamphlets; to which he adds that at its present rate of accession, without extraordinary additions. it will number half a million within ten years, and one million within forty. He closes this sketch with an appeal to Congress to provide a suitable building for this repository of the nation's learning, the completeness of which the copyright laws of the United States secure beyond the competition of any other public institution.

TRIBUTE TO WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT, by ROBERT C. WATERSTON, at the Meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society, June 13, 1878. With an appendix. 8vo, pp. 53. JOHN WILSON & SON. Boston. 1878.

All sections of the country have united in doing honor to our national poet. Among the tributes to his memory this is particularly interesting, as coming from one who accompanied Mr. Bryant in his visit to the famed castles of the Rhine, and had opportunities of watching him in his intercourse with that nature of which he was so earnest a votary. We are not surprised to hear that he was familiar with the history and character of every shrub. His eye, says Mr. Waterston, embraced everything; the stupendous ruin, the winding river, the encircling mountains, the motions of the birds, their varied songs, the clouds sailing through the heavens and each floating shadow on the landscape. Nothing escaped him. They stood together at the grave of Virgil; and while in Naples, before a small company, the poet was baptized, standing with snow white head and flowing beard like one of the ancient prophets, while through the open window shone smooth as glass the bay, over which the apostle sailed when he brought Christianity from Alexandria to Italy.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE VERMONT HISTORICAL SOCIETY, OCTOBER 15, 1878. 8vo, pp. 47. J. & J. M. POLAND. Montpelier. 1878.

Besides the usual record of the progress of the institution in its various branches, this pamphlet contains a Memorial Address on the Life and Character of the Rev. William H. Lord, D.D., read on the occasion by Rev. Matthew H. Buckham. Mr. Lord was graduated at Dartmouth, and pursued his theological studies at Andover, soon after which he was called to the Congregational church in Montpelier, where he remained, admired and beloved, until his death, in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and the thirtieth of his pastorate, in March, 1877.

NOTICE

During the present year special attention will be given in the Magazine to the geography of the American Continent, as shown upon early globes. In the present number our readers will find a critical article upon the Globe of Ulpius in the possession of the New York Historical Society. The next will be the "Lenox Globe," an instrument now unknown to but few persons, and of which, up to the present writing, no public mention has been made, though it is probably the oldest post-Columbian globe extant. It was found in Paris about twenty-five years since by the architect Richard M. Hunt, who presented it to Mr. Lenox, among whose priceless collections in the "Lenox Library" it is now preserved. This globe is one of the nine ancient terrestial globes of which we have personal knowledge; that being the number of those antedating the middle of the sixteenth century, unless others are still lying in seclusion. The "Lenox Globe" is of copper, and about eight inches in diameter, the workmanship being excellent. It probably belongs to the period of 1510–12. It was purchased by Mr. Hunt as a curious antique, but it is reasonable to suppose that it would not have left Paris so easily if its existence had been known to the savans of that city. New York is fortunate in possessing two—a very fair proportion—of the most interesting of these ancient witnesses to geographical knowledge. EDITOR.

The following list contain the names of all the
several officers now in this Country, as low as
actual Brigadiers inclusively. - Except those who it is
conjectured would not from age, want of health - or the
circumstances come forward by any inducement, that could be offered to them
such as ought not to be named for the important post
of Commander in Chief. -

Major General Lincoln.

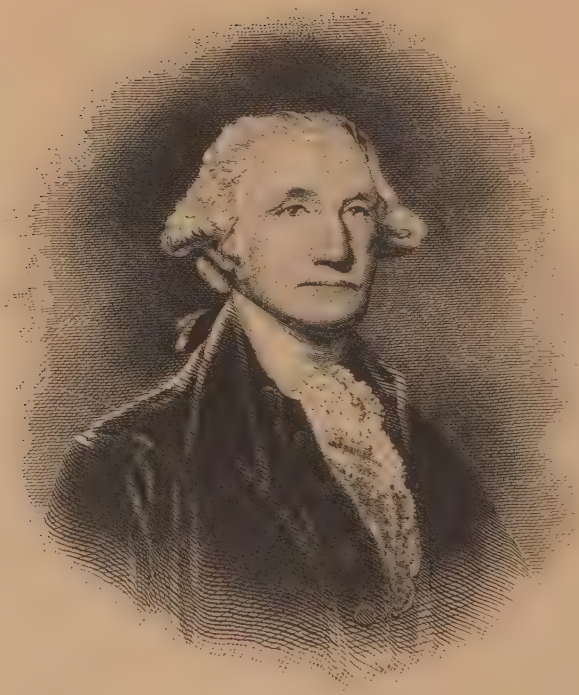
Sober, honest, brave and
sensible, but in person past the vigor of life
& reluctantly (if offered) would accept the
appointment. -

Maj. Gen. Baron de Steuben

Sensible, sober & brave
well acquainted with Tactics, & the arrange-
ment & discipline of an army. - His in his
ideas of subordination - impetuous in his
temper - ambitious - and a foreigner. —

Maj. Gen. Moultree.

Brave, & it is believed accommo-
ting in his temper - served the whole of last
war; & has been an Officer in the preceeding
one, at least had been engaged in an Expe-
dition against the Cherokees, having defea-
ted them in one or two considerable actions.
- What the resources or powers of his mind
are - how active he may be - and whether
temperate or not, are points I cannot
speak to with decision, because I have
had little or no opportunities to form
an opinion of him. —



From an Engraving by H. B. Hall after a Miniature by William Birch

MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

VOL. III FEBRUARY 1879 No. 2

WASHINGTON'S OPINION OF HIS GENERAL OFFICERS

THIS valuable and curious document, now for the first time printed, is the property of the State of New York, and is included among the treasures of the State Library at Albany. It is one of a number of memorial relics of Washington purchased by Act of the Legislature passed April 26, 1871, from Mrs. Ella Bassett Washington, the widow of Col. Lewis W. Washington, who was the sole surviving son of George Custis Washington, who was the son of William Augustine Washington, the eldest of the five nephews of Washington. This memorandum was uninterruptedly in the possession of the Washington family until its purchase by the State of New York.

Dr. H. A. Homes of the Library gives the following account of its origin and purpose in his description of these memorials:

This paper was prepared by Washington in the winter of 1791–2, after the defeat of Gen. Arthur St. Clair, by the Indians, in the autumn of 1790, near the Miami, in Ohio, and in anticipation of the necessity of the appointment of some one to succeed him in the command of the army. It was intended to serve as a memorandum of the various characters and claims to the office, of the Generals of the revolution then living, both for his personal use and for the deliberations in council with his cabinet. As the result of these deliberations, Gen. Anthony Wayne was appointed St. Clair's successor in April, 1792, and Otho H. Williams and Rufus Putnam, First, and John Brooks and James Wilkinson, Second Brigadier Generals. Twenty-three officers are mentioned in the series, and Washington gives his opinion of the qualifications of sixteen of them for the office in question, viz.: of Generals Lincoln, Steuben, Moultrie, McIntosh, Wayne, Weedon, Hand, Scott, Huntington, Wilkinson, Gist, Irvine, Morgan, Putnam, Pinckney and Gov. H. Lee.

The paper is not signed, but is entirely in the autograph of Wash-

ington. It bears an early endorsement which will serve for its title. The proof has been carefully compared with the original manuscript, and minutely follows variations in the spelling and punctuation.

GENERAL WASHINGTON'S OPINION OF THE FIELD OFFICERS OF THE REVOLUTION ALIVE IN 1791

The following list contain the names of all the General officers now living & in this country, as low as *actual* Brigadiers inclusively.— Except those who it is conjectured would not, from age, want of health—& other circumstances, come forward by any inducements that could be offered to them—& such as ought not to be named for the important trust of Commander in Chief.

MAJOR GENERAL LINCOLN.

Sober, honest, brave and sensible, but infirm, past the vigor of life—& reluctantly (if offered to him) would accept the appointment.—

MAJR GENERAL BARON DE STEUBEN.

Sensible, sober & brave, well acquainted with Tactics & with the arrangement & discipline of an army.— High in his ideas of Subordination—impetuous in his temper—ambitious—and a foreigner.—

MAJOR GENERAL MOULTRIE.

Brave, & it is believed accomodating in his temper—Served the whole of last war; & has been an officer in the preceeding one, at least had been engaged in an Expedition against the Cherokees; having defeated them in one or two considerable actions.— What the resources, or powers of his mind are—how active he may be, and whether temperate or not, are points I cannot speak to with decision, because I have had little or no opportunities to form an opinion of him.—

BRIGADIER (BUT BY BREVET MAJR GENERAL) MC INTOSH.

Is old and inactive;—supposed to be honest and brave.— Not much known in the Union, and therefore would not obtain much confidence, or command much respect;—either in the community or the army.

MAJR GENERAL (BY BREVET) WAYNE.

More active & enterprising than Judicious & cautious.— No œconomist it is feared:—open to flattery—vain—easily imposed upon and liable to

be drawn into scrapes. Too indulgent (the effect perhaps of some of the causes just mentioned) to his Officers and men.— Whether sober— or a little addicted to the bottle, I know not.

MAJR GENERAL (BY BREVET) WEEDON.

Not supposed to be an Officer of much resource, though not deficient of a competent share of understanding—rather addicted to ease & pleasure —& no enemy it is said to the bottle—never has had his name brot. forward on this acct.

MAJOR GENERAL (BY BREVET) HAND.

A sensible & judicious man;—his integrity unimpeached;—and was esteemed a pretty good officer.— But if I recollect rightly, not a very active one.— He has never been charged with intemperance to my knowledge;— His name has rarely been mentioned under the present difficulty of chusing an officer to comm'd, but this may, in a great measure be owing to his being at a distance.—

MAJR GENERAL (BY BREVET) SCOTT.

Brave & means well; but is an officer of inadequate abilities for extensive command;—&, by report, is addicted to drinking.—

MAJR GENERAL (BY BREVET) HUNTINGTON.

Sober, sensible and very discreet.— Has never discover'd much enterprise; yet, no doubt has ever been entertained of his want of spirit, or firmness.

BRIGADIER GENERAL WILKENSON.

Is, *by brevet* Senr. to those whose names follow—but the appointment to this rank was merely honorary,—and as he was but a short time in service, little can be said of his abilities as an Officer.— He is lively, sensible, pompous and ambitious, but whether sober or not, is unknown to me.

BRIGADIER GENERAL GIST.

Little has been said of his qualifications as a General Officer— His activity & attention to duty is somewhat doubtful, tho' his spirit, I believe, is unimpeached.—

BRIGADIER GENERAL IRVINE

Is sober, tolerably sensible and prudent. It is said he is an œconomist; and supported his authority whilst he was entrusted with a seperate command; but I have no recollection of any circumstance that marks him as a decidedly good, or indifferent officr.

BRIGADIER GENERAL MORGAN.—

Has been fortunate, & has met with eclat.— Yet there are different opinions with respect to his abilities as an Officer.— He is accused of using improper means to obtain certificates from the soldiers—It is said he has been (if the case is not so now) intemperate: that he is troubled with a palpitation which often lays him up; and it is not denied that he is illiterate.

BRIGADIER GENERAL WILLIAMS.—

Is a sensible man, but not without vanity. No doubt, I believe, is entertained of his firmness:—and it is thought he does not want activity, —but it is not easy, where there is nothing conspicuous in a character, to pronounce decidedly upon a Military man who has always acted under the immediate orders of a superior officer, unless he had been seen frequently in action.— The discipline, interior œconomy and police of his Corps is the best evidence one can have of his talents in this line, and of this, in the case of Genl Williams I can say nothing; as he was appointed a Brigadier after he left the Northern to join the Southern army.— But a material objection to him is delicate health (if there has been no change in his constitution),—for he has gone to the Sweet Springs two or three years sucessively in such bad health as to afford little hope of his ever returning from them.

BRIGADIER GENERAL RUFUS PUTNAM.—

Possesses a strong mind—and is a discreet man.— No question has ever been made (that has come to my knowledge) of his want of firmness. In short, there is nothing conspicuous in his character—and he is but little known out of his own state, and a narrow circle.

BRIGADIER GENL (BY BREVET) PINCKNEY.—

A Colonel since Septr. 16th, 1776; but appointed a Brigadr. by brevet, at the close of the War, *only*.— In this Gentleman many valuable qualities are to be found.— He is of unquestionable bravery— Is a man of strict honor, erudition & good sense: and it is said has made Tactics a study—

But what his spirit for enterprise is—whether active or indolent;—or fitted for arrangement, I am unable to say—never having had any opportunity to form a judgment of his talents as a military character.—The capture of Charleston put an end to his military services: but his Junr. Rank, and being little known in this part of the Union, are the two considerations most opposed to him,—particularly the latter, as it is more than probable his being a prisoner prevented his promotion: which ought not to be any bar to his ranking as a Brigadier from the time that others of his standing as a Colonel, were promoted.

The above and foregoing closes the list of *all the General Officers* who as has been observed from age—want of health—disinclination, or peculiar circumstances, can be brought into view; from whom to chuse an officer to command the Troops of the U. S.

If from either of the three Major Generals, which have been mentioned; —or from those made so by *brevet*, the Commander of the Troops should be taken, no Junior Officer can decline serving on the score of Rank; although he may desire, and have had expectations of being—first in command—himself.

Under this idea, and upon the principle of distribution, the arrangement of the Commanding officer, and those next in grade to him, may be placed in the following points of view.

COMMANDER.

LINCOLN . . . . or MOULTRIE.

Under either of these Major Generals might serve as Brigadiers.

WAYNE . . . . unless by being a Majr. Genl. by brevet & seeking the command himself he should recoil at it.

MORGAN . . . for one of the above reasons would also revolt viz—command or Williams or Darke.

WILKINSON

* PICKENS

* BROOKS

* If Lincoln commands, Brooks cannot be appointed: and if Moultree commands the same will happn to Pickens.

If Pennsylvania gives the Commanding Officer and he is of the Rank (by brevet) of Majr Generl; the above arrangement is equally applicable on the principle of distribution, & as unexceptionable on the score of rank. But if, in the first case, Wayne, Morgan and Williams refuse to

serve, and in the second, the two last do it, unless it be as Commander,—then some others Junr. in dates of Commission, or of inferior rank, must be resorted to.

If upon a full view of characters, and circumstances, General Pinckney should be deemed the most eligable for the command, it would be a fruitless attempt, & a waste of time to propose to those officers who have been his seniors, to engage again subordinately; especially if they have been his seniors in the line of *Colonels:* and here I would draw a line which I think is a just one—and that is—that his Colonel's, & not his Brigad'rs Commission, ought to decide his Rank as a Generl Officer, because it would be hard upon him to suffer in it, on acc't of his captivity; when motives of policy and not demerit suspended (as may fairly be presumed) his promotion during that period:—but why, when it did take place, Rank was not (to a certain antecedent date) restor'd, I am unable to conceive.

If this be fair reasoning (and I really think it is), neither Morgan nor Williams would have ground to object against serving under Pinckney: but as it is more than probable they will look to what is, rather than to what ought to be; a difficulty would be made on the subject of Rank—especially if there is any dereliction in them to the service in any other character than that of commanding it—and therefore it would be expedient perhaps to look for officers of Junr Rank,—& in that case may come in as . . . .

BRIGADIERS.

WILKENSON, whose rank is very questionable

DARKE—or HOWARD

WILLET—or SMITH

BROOKS.

If Governor Lee should be prefered to the command, then Officers of lower grades than any that have been mentioned in the preceeding pages must be sought after, as all of those are greatly his seniors—& their being, in my opinion but little ground to hope, that either the military talents which he has displayed in the course of the War, or his present dignified station, would reconcile any of them to act a subordinate part, except it be Wilkenson, who, as has been observed before, from having been but a short time in service, & quitting it at an early period of the

war, would have but little or no cause to complain.— As also Pickins, who has never been in the Continental line.— The arrangement w'd then be, in this case.—

GOVR. LEE—COMMANDER
BRIGADRS.
WILKENSON
PICKENS

The authorities for the following brief biographical memoranda are Drake's Dictionary of American Biography and Gardner's Dictionary of the Army of the United States. The memoranda of the officers are given in the order of their mention in the document.

MAJOR GENERALS.—Benjamin Lincoln, born at Hingham, Massachusetts, 23 January, 1733; died there, 9 May, 1810. Baron Frederick William Augustus Steuben, born at Magdeburg, Prussia, 15 November, 1730; died at Steubenville, New York, 26 November, 1794. William Moultrie, born South Carolina, 1731; died at Charleston, South Carolina, 27 September, 1805. Lachlan McIntosh, born near Inverness, Scotland, 17 March, 1725; died at Savannah, 20 February, 1806. Anthony Wayne, born in Chester County, Pennsylvania, 1 January, 1745; died at Presqu' Isle, 15 December, 1796. George Weedon, of Fredericksburg, Virginia; date of birth and death unknown. Edward Hand, born at Clyduff, Kings County, Ireland, 31 December, 1744; died at Rockford, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, 3 September, 1802. Charles Scott, born in Cumberland County, Virginia, 1733; died 22 October, 1820. Ebenezer Huntington, born at Norwich, Connecticut, 26 December, 1754; died there 17 June, 1834.

BRIGADIER GENERALS.—James Wilkinson, born near Benedict, Maryland, 1757; died near Mexico City, 28 December, 1825. Mordecai Gist, born at Baltimore, Maryland, 1743; died at Charleston, South Carolina, 2 September, 1792. William Irvine, born at Fermagh, Ireland, 3 November, 1741; died at Philadelphia, 29 July, 1804. Daniel Morgan, born at Hunterdon County, New Jersey, 1736; died at Winchester, Virginia, 6 July, 1802. Otho Holland Williams, born in Prince George County, Maryland, 1749: died 16 July, 1794. Rufus Putnam, born at Sutton, Massachusetts, 9 April, 1738; died at Marietta, Ohio, 4 May, 1824. Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, born at Charleston, South Carolina, 25 February, 1746; died there, 16 August, 1825.

COLONELS.—William Darke, born in Philadelphia County, Pennsylvania, 1736; died in Jefferson County, Virginia, 26 November, 1801. Andrew Pickens, born at Paxton, Bucks County, Pennsylvania, 13 September, 1739; died in Pendleton District, South Carolina, 1817. John Brooks, born at Medford, Massachusetts, 1752; died 1825. John Eager Howard, born in Baltimore County, Maryland, 4 June, 1752; died there, 12 October, 1827. Marinus Willett, born at Jamaica, Long Island, 31 July, 1740; died in New York City, 22 August, 1830. William Stephens Smith, born, New York, 1755; died at Lebanon, New York, 10 June, 1816.

The Governor Lee referred to was Henry Lee, Governor of Virginia, 1791–1794, born in Westmoreland County, Virginia, 29 January, 1756; died at Cumberland Island, Georgia, 25 March, 1818.

WASHINGTON'S HEAD-QUARTERS—POMPTON, N. J.

WASHINGTON'S HEADQUARTERS AT POMPTON

After the brilliant affairs of Trenton and Princeton, in the last days of 1776 and the first week of 1777, Washington established his headquarters at Morristown, where he remained in an attitude of quiet expectation, watching the movements of General Howe. In June, after a feint which caused Washington to summon the Continental troops at Peekskill to join him in New Jersey, Howe suddenly changed ground, and on the 28th fell back from the firm position he had taken, between Brunswick on the Raritan and Somerset Court House on the Millstone river, to Amboy.

The withdrawal on the 30th of June of Howe with his army to Staten Island, wholly evacuating the Jerseys, satisfied Washington that a junction with Burgoyne, then beginning his operations against Ticonderoga, was the real purpose of Howe, and caused an instant change in his plans. The camp, which had been moved from Morristown to Middlebrook on the 28th May, was removed to its old quarters on the 4th July. Here Washington again waited to see whether Howe would attack the New York defences at the Highlands or move against Philadelphia by water.

On the morning of the 11th July Washington, by the advice of his officers, moved his army towards the North River, whence he could operate to oppose either movement. On the 12th he was at Pompton Plains, where he established his Headquarters on the 13th and was detained two days "by the badness of the weather," as he himself notes in a letter of that date. On the 15th he was at the Clove, a narrow passage leading through the Highlands, about eighteen miles west of the Hudson, in which the army was constantly in motion, as the skillful commander led his forces behind the curtain of the New Jersey Hills from King's Ferry to Morristown, and from Morristown to King's Ferry, to meet the enemy advancing on Philadelphia or threatening the defences of the North River.

Pompton Plains, from which Washington wrote the letter already quoted, is described as lying between the Pompton Mountains and the Preakness Hills, and is nearly twenty miles in circumference, with a variable breadth seldom exceeding four miles. The Pequannock, Ringwood and Ramapo rivers uniting at the head of the plains form the Pompton River, which flows along its eastern side to the Passaic, about

eight miles. The southern and much of the western side of the plains are marshy, and embrace about fifteen hundred acres of peat ground. The village of Pompton is at the head of the plain, and distant about eighteen miles from Morristown, which was the principal base of the army operations in the Jerseys. The abundance of water and fuel and the shelter afforded by the hills made this a favorite camping ground. It is to-day one of the most charming spots in New Jersey.

The New Jersey Brigade went into winter quarters at Pompton the 30th November, 1780. The New York Brigade, under the command of Brigadier-General Philip Van Cortlandt, passed the winter of 1781–2 in huts at Pompton. It was here that the eccentric divine, Doctor Gano, exhorted the men to enlist for the war, telling them that the Lord and Saviour had no nine or six-months men in his service. In the spring General Van Cortlandt moved his men "to the flat field, and there exercised and manœuvered to great advantage in the presence of Baron Steuben, who was delighted with their performances during his visit of a few days." While still in the huts the General had a visit from Washington with his lady, who remained "in his humble station from Saturday evening until Monday morning."

Whether the house, a view of which accompanies this sketch, is that which was occupied by the Commander-in-Chief on his march in June, 1777, is not certain. There is, however, a tradition that at some time during the war his headquarters were here. It stands at the bend of a cross road leading from the Ryerson Furnace to the Passaic County Hotel, a tavern kept by the Posts and Thompsons since the beginning of the century; on the opposite side of the main road is the old Ryerson house; at the other side of the cross road runs the little stream of Wynockie. The house belonged to Captain Arent Schuyler in the revolutionary days. Judge M. J. Ryerson occupied it from 1783 to 1815, and his descendants until 1870, when it was sold to Miss Harriet Mills, who now owns it. It is said that the beams still show the prints made by the bayonet points of the soldiers who were quartered there.

The building is of frame, painted yellow, and overrun with bushes and shrubs in picturesque wildness. Remains of the army occupation are constantly found in this neighborhood; during the past summer, 1878, a silver spur was dug up in the garden of the house, which probably belonged to one of the French officers who passed through the valley in 1781, with the allied forces of Washington and Rochambeau, on the campaign which closed with the surrender of Cornwallis.

TABULATED STATEMENT OF WASHINGTON'S HOUSEHOLD EXPENSES 1789

From the original in the Library of the State of New York

DATES		MEATS			POULTRY—DIF'T KINDS				
Months	Days	Butch	Bacon	Tongue	Geese	Ducks	Turkey	Dunghil Fowls	Birds
May.....	25	5. 4.10	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	0. 5.10	0. 1.0
June.....	1	11. 3.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1.10. 0	5.0
	8	9.12. 4	1. 0. 0	3.6	1.15.0	14.0	.....	18. 0	9.0
	15	8.12. 9	.....	.....	.....	1. 6.0	.....	1.12. 0	.....
	22	7.15. 0	2. 7. 0	.....	.....	.....	.....	16. 0	1.0
	29	10. 9. 8	7. 7. 4	2.3.0	.....	.....	.....	1.10. 0	5.0
July.....	6	9. 2.10	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1. 2. 0	.....
	13	8.12.10	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	15. 0	.....
	20	9.11.11	2. 9. 1	.....	.....	.....	.....	1.18. 0	5.6
	27	7.13. 2	5.12.10	.....	.....	.....	.....	2 19. 0	1.6
Aug.....	3	11.12. 3	.....	.....	.....	18.0	1. 0.0	2. 4. 0	18.0
	10	11. 1. 0	.....	.....	1.12.0	18.0	1.12.8	18. 0	1.13.0
	17	10.12. 8	.....	.....	.....	11.0	8.0	1.15. 0	11.0
	24	10.18. 6	.....	.....	.....	15.0	15.0	1.11. 0	11.
Amt. 14 Weeks		132. 2. 9	17.16. 3	2.6.6	3. 7.0	5. 2.	3.15.8	19.13.10	5. 1.
Board was...			4.13. 4						
		132. 2. 9	22. 9. 7	2.6.6	3. 7.0	5. 2.	3.15.8	19.13.10	5. 1.

DATES		FISH					Eggs	Milk and Cream	Cheeses	BREAD &c.	
Months	Days	Scale Fish	Lobsters	Crabs	Oysters	Cured Fish				Bread	Bisquet
May....	25	1. 0.6	7. 0	.....	0.15.0	1.6	9.0	0.15. 0	.....	.....	.....
June...	1	1.13.6	15. 6	3.0	19.0	4.6	6.	1. 7. 5	.....	3.17.6	3.0
	8	1.11.6	11.10	4.0	16.6	4.0	9.	1.19. 0	4. 0	2. 0.6	9.6
	15	1.15.0	12. 6	.....	9.0	.. ..	13.	1.18. 9	8. 6	1.19.	.....
	22	1. 3.6	13. 9	7.0	7.6	.....	9.	2. 3. 0	.....	3.17.0	.....
	29	1.16.8	18. 6	7.6	18.6	3.6	3.	2. 5. 8	.....	2. 4.0	10.
July....	6	1.13.0	14. 9	3.0	11.0	.....	.....	2. 6. 6	10. 0	4.16.0	12.
	13	1.12.5	13. 3	15.	.....	3.0	1. 2.0	1.15.10	4. 0	2. 5.0	.....
	20	1.15.0	16. 6	17.6	7.0	8.6	4.	1.19. 2	1. 0	2. 9.3	5.0
	27	1.15.6	19. 0	10.6	.....	.....	15.	3. 7. 5	.....	2. 6.0	9.
Aug....	3	1. 7.0	15. 0	13.6	5.0	.....	6.	2. 2. 0	8.	2.11.0	10.
	10	2. 4.0	15. 6	14.0	10.6	0.4.0	1. 5.0	2.18. 2	.....	3.11.0	5.
	17	1. 8.0	13. 0	19.6	7.6	.....	17.6	1.19.	5.	2. 6.0	.....
	24	1. 2.9	12. 0	14 0	6.0	.....	4.	2.13.10	1. 6	2.15.	. ...
		21.18.4	9.18.1	6. 8.6	7. 2.6	1.9.	7. 2.6	29.10. 9	2. 2.	36.17.3	3. 3 6
									4. 7.11		
		21.18.4	9.18.1	6. 8.6	7. 2.6	1.9.	7. 2.6	29.10. 9	6. 9.11	36.17.3	3. 3.6

DATES		BREAD &c.		Vegetables	Butter	Ice Cream	Preserves and Sundries	Salt	Oyl	FRUITS	
Months	Days	Cake	Meal and I. Corn							Foreign	Green Fruits
May....	25	....	4.0	1.17. 9	2. 0.0	.....	.....	1 6	12.	.....	.....
June...	1	12.0	.....	3. 6.11	3. 8.0	.....	2. 0. 0	1.6	.....	2. 0.0	1. 2.0
	8	....	3.0	2.19. 3	3. 1.6	.....	2.12. 6	....	.....	4.13.0	3. 3.0
	15	....	5.0	4.19. 7	2.15.0	.....	1. 4.	1.6	19.6	4. 7.6	1. 2.0
	22	....	.....	3.19. 0	2. 3.0	.....	3. 6	....	.....	8.0	3. 4.0
	29	....	1. 0.0	4.17. 6	1.16.0	.....	1. 4. 0	1.6	1.13.0	2. 5.0	5.10.6
July....	6	....	.....	6. 0. 3	2. 8.0	5.0.0	3.12. 0	1.6	.....	3.13.0	4.13.0
	13	5.	.....	4. 1. 3	3.12.0	.....	1. 6. 0	2.6	.....	.....	3.15.0
	20	....	15.0	5. 2. 9	2.17.0	.....	.....	1.6	.....	3. 4.9	3.13.6
	27	....	.....	3.18. 6	3.16.0	.....	.....	....	.....	1. 4.0	4. 3.0
Aug....	3	....	.....	5.18. 6	4. 6.0	.....	1.12. 0	4	.....	3.11.0	2.13.6
	10	....	10.0	4. 5. 6	2.12.0	15.2.0	.....	6	.....	2.16.0	2.15.0
	17	....	.....	3. 1. 6	1.17.6	.....	10. 0	....	.....	2.14.0	1.19.0
	24	....	12.	3.17. 0	4.14.0	.....	.....	....	.....	1.11.0	1.18.6
		17.0	3. 9.	58. 5. 3	41. 6.	20.2.0	14. 4	1.1.6	3. 4.6	32. 7 3	40. 2.
			2. 3.6		3. 6.1		4. 0.10		7.0	2.15.0	2.10.
		17.	5.12.6	58. 5. 3	44.12.1	20.2.0	18. 4.10	1.1.6	3.11.6	35. 2.3	42.12.

DATES		Mellons	NUTS		Citron	LIQUORS					
Months	Days		Foreign	Domestic		Madeira	Claret	Champaign	Van de Graves	Cherry	Port
May	25	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	....
June....	1	.....	8.3	.....	8.	.....	9.11.0	.....	.....	.....	....
	8	.....	1. 2.0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	....
	15	.....	.....	.....	4.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	....
	22	.....	2.6	.....	7.6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	....
	29	.....	.....	.....	4.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	....
July....	6	.....	12.	19.	12.6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	....
	13	.....	16.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	....
	20	.....	.....	.....	5.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	....
	27	.....	.....	.....	7.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	....
Aug.....	3	.....	.....	.....	1. 0.0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	....
	10	15.	2.0	.....	2. 0.0	.....	12. 0.0	.....	.....	.....	....
	17	1. 9 6	3.0	.....	18.6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	....
	24	1.13.6	7.6	.....	1. 0.0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	....
		3.18.	3.13.3	19.	7. 6.6	.....	21.11.	.....	.....	.....	....
			1. 8.0	16.6	1.13.0	43.18.0		18.0.0		2.5.0	
		3.18.	5. 1.3	1.15.6	8.19.6	43.18.	21.11.	18.0.0	.....	2.5.	....

DATES		LIQUORS								TEA	
Months	Days	Sweet Wine	Arack	Spirits	Brandy	Cordials	Porter	Beer	Cider	Hyson	Bohea
May....	25	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4. 4.6	.....	.....	.....
June...	1	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	8	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4.16.0	2. 0.0	.....	.....
	15	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	22	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1.16.0	.....	.....	.....
	29	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1.8.0	2.10.0	.....	.....	2.1.0
July....	6	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	13	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	20	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	27	....	.....	.....	.....	5.6	4.0.0	4. 0.0	.....	.....	.....
Aug....	3	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2.15.0	.....	.....	.....
	10	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4.0.0	2. 5.0	.....	.....	.....
	17	....	.. ...	.....	.....	.....	.....	10. 4.0	.....	.....	.....
	24	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1.10.0	.....	.....	.....
		....	.....	.....	.....	5.6	9.8.0	34. 0.6	2. 0.0	.....	2.1.0
			2.16.0	12.0.0	6.6.0		7.0.0	0.14.0	2.10.0	8.16.0	1.2.6
		....	2.16.0	12.0.0	6.6.0	5.6	16.8.0	34.14.6	4.10.	8.16.	3.3.6

DATES		Coffee.	SUGAR				Grocery generally	CANDLES		Wood	Hogs Lard
Months	Days		Dble Refined	Single Refined	Lump	Brown		Spirmacity	Tallow		
May..	25	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3. 9.9	.....
June..	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	5. 2.8	.....	2.16.6	.....
	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2. 6.6	.....	.....	10. 7.0	2. 4. 0
	15	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	22	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2. 4. 0
	29	4.13. 9	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
July..	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	....	3.18.9	.....
	13	.....	26.2.7	.....	.....	.....	.....	5. 3.4	.....	.....	.....
	20	.....	.....	.....	.....	8.0.0	3. 3.8	.....	.....	1. 0.0	.....
	27	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	5.18.0	.....
Aug..	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	10	4.15.10	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	7. 0.0	.....	.....	.....
	17	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	24	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1.19.6	2. 3. 2
		9. 9. 7	26.2.7	.....	.....	8.0.0	5.10.2	17. 6.	.....	29. 9.6	6.11. 2
		5.14.11	8.1.0	6.14.4	8.17.11	3.0.0	16.16.6	1.10.0	3.4.0		1.16. 8
		15. 4. 6	34.3.7	6.14.4	8.17.11	11.0.	20. 6.8	18.16.0	3.4.0	29. 9.6	8. 7.10

DATES		FLOWERS		Crockery	Potery	LINNEN			Servt's Wages	Labour	Coal
Months	Days	Natural	Artif			Sund's	Towels	Sheets			
May....	25	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	17.6	.....
June...	1	6.0	.....	1. 1.9	4.	2. 5.1	.....	.....	.....	1. 7.0	.....
	8	14.0	.....	2.0	1.	4.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	15	15.0	.....	.....	.....	4.19.0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	22	11.6	.....	11.6	1.	3.	.....	.....	6.0.0	1.13.0	.....
	29	13.6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
July....	6	17.0	.....	3.6	2.	.....	.....	.....	.....	2. 2.0	.....
	13	8.6	.....	.....	.....	1. 2.0	.....	.....	.....	1.17.6	6.10.0
	20	17.6	.....	3.14.0	3.3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
	27	12.0	.....	6.14.6	4.	.....	3.1.10	12.0.0	6.0.0	.....	.....
Aug....	3	18.0	5.10.0	8.	2.	.....	.....	.....	.....	1.16.0	.....
	10	19.0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1. 4.0	.....
	17	8.0	.....	9.	2.	.....	.....	.....	.....	9.	.....
	24	11.6	.....	.....	4.6	.....	.....	.....	6.0.0	.....	.....
		8.11.6	5.10.0	13. 4.3	1.3.9	8.13.1	3.1.10	12.0.0	18.0.0	11. 6.	6.10.0
		8.11.6	5.10.0	13. 4.3	1.3.9	8.13.1	3.1.10	12.0.0	18.0.0	11. 6.0	6.10.0

DATES		Corn	Bran	Chimney Sweep	Sundries	Soap	Honey	
Months	Days							
May.....	25	.....	.....	.....	11.10	.....	.....	21.15.6
June.....	1	.....	1.5.0	.....	14. 6	.....	.....	58.13.3
	8	.....	.....	.....	1. 2. 0	.....	.....	65.16.5
	15	.....	.....	.....	1.	.....	.....	40.19.7
	22	.....	.....	.....	3. 3. 6	.....	.....	42. 9.9
	29	.....	.....	.....	15. 3	.....	.....	59.17.4
July.....	6	.....	.....	.....	1. 5. 6	.....	.....	58. 9.1
	13	.....	.....	.....	2. 9. 0	.....	.....	75. 9.0
	20	.....	.....	.....	1. 5.10	4.10.4	.....	62.11.6
	27	.....	.....	.....	18. 0	.....	.....	83.11.3
Aug.....	3	.....	.....	1.6.3	7. 6	.....	.....	61. 7.6
	10	18.6	.....	.....	1. 3. 6	.....	.....	95. 1.2
	17	10.	.....	.....	6. 0	.....	.....	47.14.2
	24	5.	.....	.....	2. 6	.....	.....	51. 8.7
		1.13.6	1.5.0	1.6.3	14. 5.11	4.10.4	.....	825. 4.1
							1.7.5	188.11.5
		1.13.6	1.5.0	1.6.3	14. 5.11	4.10.4	1.7.5	1013.15.6

	1013.15. 6
Cash advanced Mr. Frauncis between the 24th of April—the day on which the President arrived in New York and the 17th of May the day on which the above accounts commenced and which compleats the third of a year.....	67. 2.11
Horses—at livery from the 24th of April until May 27th £40, and from May 27th until Aug. 24th, completing 4 months—£85.9.3 together.....	125. 9. 3
Sundry Expences which have accrued for repairing carriages—making and repairing saddles—covers for horses—Netts &c. £95.14.3, but not more than ½ of this can be properly ch'g'd to the 24th of Aug. as these expences may not occur again in a year.....	47.17.
Wages to Servants viz—5 men @ 7 Dollars per month—4 months £56. Mr. Frances @ 25 Dollars per ditto, 4 months £40. Mrs. Reed @ 8 Dollars, and 3 other Women @ 5 Dollars each per month—4 months £36.16. Valet de Chambre @ 35 Guineas per ann., ⅓ of which £21.13.2.....	154.11. 9
Liverys for 5 white servants @ £11.12.0 each amounts to £58, one third of which is £19.6.8. Annual cloaths of 5 bla. Servts. viz. Will, Austin, Giles, Paris and Christopher @ £18.8 each per ann. £92, ⅓ of which is £30.13.4. Two black maids @ £36.16 per ann., ⅓ is £12.5.3. Boots, 4 pair, 24 Dollars, ⅓ £3.4.0.....	65.19. 3
Salaries of Secretary, assistant and three aids per ann. £800, one third of which comes to £266.13.4.....	266.13. 4
4 months....	1741. 9. 3.
A year.....	4925. 7.

NOTE.—In the descriptive notes upon the Memorial Relics of Washington in the New York State Library, prepared by Dr. H. A. Homes, the custodian of the institution, an account is given of the above document.

This MS., on one sheet, forty-two inches long by eight inches wide, in the handwriting of Washington, is a view of his household expenses in New York for three months, from May 24 to Aug. 24, 1789, at the commencement of his first term of office as President. Washington, in his first inaugural address, expressed his unwillingness to receive any money from the public treasury beyond his actual expenses, and in pursuance of this principle had his accounts carefully kept by his steward, and here reduces them in a table in a manner to show how much had been spent for each item during this period, so as to be able to calculate his probable expenses for a year.

THE WASHINGTON FAMILY OF HOLLAND AND GERMANY

PRELIMINARY NOTE. — The family register of the German-Dutch branch of the Washington family, now for the first time printed, was communicated to the New York Historical Society by the Honorable Frederick Kapp, long a resident of New York, where he was a distinguished member of the Bar, and held important public offices. He is now returned to Berlin, whence he was exiled for his participation in the revolutionary movement of 1848.

Mr. Kapp accompanied the gift with the following account of the manner in which he became interested in it:

"When on a visit to Germany in the summer of 1862, I met at the office of William W. Murphy, our Consul at Frankfort-on-the-Main, a young gentleman who was desirous of coming to the United States, and entering her volunteer army. He called at that office in order to obtain information about the conditions of his joining our forces, and of obtaining a commission therein as officer. He had been, if my memory serves me right, a lieutenant in the Bavarian army, and showed by his accent and manner that he was a Southern German. For some cause or other he finally gave up his intention. At the above interview he mentioned, as an inducement for his acceptance, that he was a namesake and distant relative of the greatest American. When asked his name, the young man, not quite twenty years of age, called himself Baron de Washington, and to prove his claims to that name produced a pedigree, written partly in Dutch and partly in German, of that branch of the Washington family to which he belonged. This pedigree was given to me by Mr. Murphy at my request, for the purpose of presenting it to our Society, as one of the oldest and most efficient institutions of its kind. I did not lay it before you sooner, on account of the great crisis which the country has undergone since my return. At a time when the fate of a great nation rests on the point of the sword, the mind of the patriot is not disposed to move in historical by-ways, and pick up trifles; but now after a glorious and honorable peace has been secured, it does not appear to me improper to enjoy even the smallest relics, unimportant in themselves, which however become of some consequence by their connection with the name of a great and good man. The pedigree of the Dutch-German branch of the family goes back to the middle of the seventeenth century to James Washington, brother of General Washington's great-grandfather, John. James as early as the year 1650 went to Holland, while John, with his brother Andrew, emigrated in 1656 to Virginia. James Washington settled in Rotterdam, where he married Clara van der Lanen, daughter of the burgomaster of that port. He had five children, the oldest and youngest of whom were males. The oldest (Samuel) died unmarried, while Jacob, the youngest, had a son of the same name born in 1689, and who in 1724 intermarried with Maria Wynantz, from whom the continental Washington descended. It will be tedious to enumerate the descendants of Jacob. The particulars will form the pedigree itself, prepared, as you will perceive, from the

Dates		Meats			Poultry - dutt & kind				
mths.	days	Bates.	Beef	Tongues	Geese	Ducks	Turkeys	Dunghill fowls	Birds
May.	25.	5.4.10	----	----	----	----	----	0.5.10	0.1.0
June.	1.	11.3..	----	----	----	----	----	1.10.0	5.0
	8.	9.12.4	1.0.0	3.6	1.15.0	14.0	----	18.0	9.0
	15.	8.12.9	----	----	----	1.6.0	----	1.12.0	----
	22	7.15.0	2.7.0	----	----	----	----	16.0	1.0
	29	10.9.8	7.7.4	2.3.0	----	----	----	1.10.0	5.0
July	6	9.2.10	----	----	----	----	----	1.2.0	----
	13	8.12.10	----	----	----	----	----	15.0	----
	20	9.11.11	2.9.1					1.18.0	5.6
	27	7.13.2	5.12.10	----	----	----	----	2.19.0	1.6
Aug.	3	11.12.3	----	----	----	18.0	1.0.0	2.4.0	18.0
	10.	11.1.0	----	----	1.12.0	18.0	1.12.8	18.0	1.13.0
	17.	10.12.6	----	----	----	11.0	8.0	1.15.0	11.0
	24.	10.18.6	----	----	----	15.0	15.0	1 11.0	11.
am. 14 Wks		132.2.9	17.16.3	2.6.6	3.7.0	5.2..	3.15.8	19.13.10	5.1.
Board Wan		..	4.13.4						
		132.2.9	22.9.7	2.6.6	3.7 -	5.2 -	3.15.8	19.13.10	5.1 -

Cash advanced Mr F. Francis for Horses - at Livery from the 24
Sundry Expences which have not
Wages & Servants ~~Salaries~~ 20 - 5 M
Livery's for 5 White Servants a
Salaries of Secretary - Assistant.

family register. I will make in relation to it but a few general remarks.

While it may be taken as a general rule that families, after having flourished for three generations, subsequently decline, an exception appears in favor of the European branch of the Washington family; for it improved with every succeeding generation. Thus, Jacob was a justice of the peace at Rotterdam, his three sons became civil and military officers in the service of the Government of the Netherlands, and one of his grandsons, also called Jacob, born in 1778, and who died in 1848, was made a lieutenant-general in the Bavarian army, and having been created a baron, married a titled lady of Bavaria. The youngest of his sons, born in 1833, is the young man from whom this information is derived. His brother Max married the Duchess of Oldenbourg, and in this way became connected with one of the oldest sovereign families of Europe. The House of Oldenbourg, as you are aware, is the main branch of the Holstein-Gottorp stock, and has given emperors to Russia and kings to Denmark, and is now connected with the English throne by the Princess Alexandra, lately married to the Prince of Wales. Although the Dutch branch is not so highly connected, it nevertheless occupies a prominent position in its country. Jacob Washington, another great-grandson of the first Jacob, died in 1845 at Surabaya while a first lieutenant in the Dutch navy; and his sister Johanna Cornelia married Cornelius L. Keurenaar, a wealthy banker at the Hague, both of whom are still living, and hold possession of the family register, and to them we are referred for further information.

In conclusion permit me to direct your attention to the fact that the Dutch Washingtons, as late as the middle of the last century, were consistent members of the English Church at Holland, but that the German branch, in consequence probably of the marriage of Jacob to a Bavarian lady of the Catholic faith, adhered to that church."

FAMILY REGISTER

James Washington, having in the middle of the seventeenth century left England, which was then agitated by civil wars, settled in Rotterdam. His brother departed for the English Colonies in America, settled there as planter, and was the grandfather of the founder of the American Union, George Washington.

James Washington married in the year 1650 at Rotterdam Clara van der Lanen, daughter of the Burgomaster at that time.

From this marriage were born:

Samuel—died single.

Elisabeth—died single.

Maria—was married at Rotterdam to P. Konigh.

Johanna.

Jacobus.

1687—*Dec.* is Johanna married to Robert Millingh, minister of the English Church at Leyden, and subsequently at the Hague.

1689—*Dec.* is born at Rotterdam Jacobus Washington.

1711—*July* 13. the said Jacobus was promoted and appointed advocate, and further justice of the peace in the City of Rotterdam.

1712—July 13. Died at the Hague, Jo-Johanna Washington, wife of Robert Millingh.

1724—*Oct.* 24. Jacobus Washington married Catha. Maria Wynantz.

1725—*Aug.* 25. A son born, named Jacobus, baptised in the English Church at Rotterdam.

1728—*Nov.* 20. A son named Jan.

1730—*Aug.* 26. A son named Daniel.

1737—*Sept.* 19. A son named Robert.

1738—*June* 1. Died the said Robert.

1749—*May.* Jan appointed as clerk in ordinary in the office of the High Mighty (the States General).

1749—*Oct.* Jacobus, Cornet in the military service of the Country, married Catharina de Blanche at Campen.

1750—*Aug.* 1. Is born a daughter Catharina Maria.

1752—*Dec.* 21. Is born a son, Jan.

1755—*Dec.* 21. Is born a daughter, Suzanna Cordelia.

1756—*June* 30. Is born a son, Pieter Antonie.

1756—*Dec.* 12. Jan, clerk in ordinary, married Maria Petronella Steal, at Amsterdam.

1757—*Jan.* Died, the said Suzanna Cordelia.

1757—*Jan.* 24. Died, Jacobus Washington, fully 68 years old.

1758—*Feb.* 11. Died, Mrs. Catharina Maria Wynantz at the Hague.

1758—*June* 25. Died, Mrs. Maria Petronella Steal at the Hague.

1758—*July* 1. Died, Pieter Antonie Washington at Filburg.

1760—*Nov.* 16. Jan Washington remarried with Elisabeth Wagener at Amsterdam.

1762—*Dec.* 25. Died, Jacobus Washington, under Lieutenant in the service of the country, at Leerdam, fully 37 years of age.

1762—*Dec.* 28. A son born to Jan Washington and Elisabeth Wagener, Jacobus; baptized in the English Church.

1763—*Dec.* 7. Died, Mrs. Elisabeth Wagener at the Hague.

1764—*Oct.* 28. Daniel Washington married Maria Elisabeth Ter at the Hague.

1765—*March* 17. Jan Washington contracted marriage, for the third time, with Levina Johanna Styger at Amsterdam.

1767—*Nov.* 24. Born, a son to Jan Washington and Levina Johanna Styger at the Hague, Johannes; baptised in the English Church.

1768—*Aug.* 21. Married Miss Catharina Maria Washington with Johs. Albs. Schlosser, Med.-Doctor, Amsterdam.

1769—*March* 2. Died, the same, and on the 20th following also her husband.

1769—*March* 3. A son born to Jan Washington and Levina Johanna Styger, named Daniel, baptised in the English Church, who died on the 15th of the second month of 1770.

1770—*July* 21. A daughter born to Jan Washington and Levina Johanna Styger, Suzanna Cornelia, baptised in the English Church.

1772—*Aug.* 25. Again born to them a son, also called Daniel, baptised in the English Church in the Hague.

1775—*June* 10. Again born to them a daughter, Elisabeth Cornelia, baptised in the English Church at the Hague.

1775—*Nov.* 28. Died, Mrs. Maria Elisabeth Fer, wife of Mr. Daniel Washington, Military Solicitor at the Hague, without leaving issue.

1777—*Feb.* 2. Daniel Washington remarried with Elisabeth Cornelia Hoogstad at the Hague.

1778—*Jan.* 26. Born to them a son, Jacobus, baptised in the great church at the Hague.

1781—*July* 27. Born to them a second son, Daniel, baptised in the great church of St. Jacob at the Hague.

1781—*Sept.* 28. Jacobus Washington appointed as clerk in ordinary of the office of the High Mighty (States-General).

1782—*Oct.* 15. Jan Washington appointed a Receiver of Fines and Excise duties, etc,

1785—*Feb.* 10. Jan Washington, Junr., placed at the office with his father.

1786—*Oct.* 10. Died, Daniel Washington, advocate and military solicitor at the Hague, fully 57 years old.

1786—*Oct.* 10. Jan Washington, son of Jacobus, became proprietory Captain of a Company of Infantry in the Regiment Poeltardy.

1788—*April* 28. The said Jan married Ja. Cu. van Bommel at Bergen op Zoom.

1789—*Sept.* 25. Died at Noordwyk and buried there, Mrs. Elizabeth Cornelia Hoogstad, widow of the said Daniel Washington, leaving two sons under age, Jacobus and Daniel.

1789—*Nov.* 9. Died here, Miss Suzanna Cornelia Washington, aged 19 and about 4 months; buried in the great church, in the grave of Mrs. E. C. van Hoogstad; she was on the point of being married to Pieter van den Swet, merchant at Amsterdam.

1790—*Nov.* 9. A son born to Jan Washington, son of Jan, and J. C. van Bommel, named Jacobus Gerrit Hillebrand.

1791—*June* 12. Jan Washington, Junr, married Anna de Lange at Zaandam.

1793—*March* 13. Died here at the Hague, Elizabeth Cornelia Washingington, aged 17 years, 9 months, and buried by her sister.

1797—*Dec.* 12. Died at the Hague, Mrs. Anna de Lange, wife of Jan Washington, son of Jan, without issue.

1800—*Sept.* 27. Died at the Hague, Jan Washington, about 72 years.

1801—*May* 7. Died at the farm Nieuwenhowen, near Halsteren, Jan Washington, son of Jacob, at the age of nearly 49 years.

1802—*May* 20. Remarried, Jan Washington, son of Jan, with Maria Kruel at the Hague.

1802—*Oct.* 17. Married. Daniel Washington, son of Jan, Johanna Cornelia van de Polder, at the Hague.

1803—*May* 23. Born to them a daughter, Levina Johanna, baptised in the Convent Church.

1804—*March* 24. Born, a son to Jan Washington and Maria Kruel, baptised in the Convent Church, named Jan.

1805—*March* 2. Born, a second daughter to Daniel Washington and J. C. van de Polder, Cornelia Margaretha Johanna.

1805—*April* 26. Died, the child of Jan Washington and Maria Kruel, fully 13 months old.

1806—*March* 14. Born to them, a second son, baptised in the Convent Church, named Jan.

1806—*March* 22—Died at Rotterdam, Mrs. Levina Johanna Styger, widow of the late Jan Washington, at the age of nearly 70 years.

1806—*Nov.* 5. Born to Daniel Washington and Ja. C. van de Polder, a son, baptised in the Convent Church, and named Jacob.

1807—*Sept.* 25. Died at Bergen op Zoom, Mrs. Johanna Catharina van Bommel, widow of the late Capt. Jan Washington, son of Jacob.

1808—*Sept.* 4. Daniel Washington, son of Daniel, married Caroline Julie Dorothea Marcard te Stade.

1809—*April* 30. Married, Jacobus Washington, son of Jan, Johanna Sprong te Leerdam.

1809—*May* 10. Born to Daniel Washington and Joh. Corn. van de Polder, a third daughter, baptised in the church at Amsterdam, and named Johanna Maria.

1810—*Jan.* 22. Born to Jan Washington and Maria Kruel at the Hague, a daughter, baptised in the Convent Church, and named Levina Petronelle Johanna.

1810—*Sept.* 18. Born to Daniel Washington, son of Jan, and J. Corn. van de Polder (a daughter), baptised at Amsterdam, and named Suzanna Johanna Cornelia.

1811—*Oct.* 10. Died, the little daughter of Daniel Washington and J. C. van de Polder, named Johanna Maria, born 10 May, 1809.

1811—*Oct.* 30. Born to Jan Washington and M. Kruel at the Hague, a second daughter, baptised in the Convent Church, and named Johanna Cornelia.

1811—*Nov.* 23. Mrs. J. C. van de Polder, wife of Daniel Washington, was confined with a dead son.

1811—*Dec.* 9. Died, the little daughter of Daniel Washington and J. C. van de Polder, named Cornelia Margaretha Johanna, born 2d March, 1805.

1812—*Feb.* 17. Died, the little daughter of the foregoing, named Suzanna Johanna Cornelia, born 18th Sept., 1810.

1812—*Sept.* 2. Born to Jacobus Washinton, son of Jan and Johanna Sprong, at Amsterdam, a daughter, born say baptised in the Amstel Church, and named Elizabeth Frederica Johanna.

1813—*March* 22. Born to Jan Washington and Maria Kruel at the Hague, a third daughter, baptised in the Convent Church, and named Cornelia Elisabeth.

1813—*Sept.* 6. Died, Daniel Washington, Daniel's son, fully 32 years old.

1814—*Nov.* 17. Died, Levina Petronella Johanna, born 22d Jan., 1810.

1814—*Dec.* 13. Died, Cornelia Elisabeth, born 11 March, 1813.

1815—*May.* Married, Jacs G. H. Washton at the Brielle, to W. D. Lux of that place.

1816—*March* 25. Born to them, a son, named Joan Hendrick.

1816—*Sept.* 10. Born to Jan Washington and Maria Kruel at the Hague, a fourth daughter, baptised in the Convent Church, named Johanna Petronella Elisabeth.

1817—*Aug.* 27. Born to J. G. H. Washington at the Brielle, a daughter, named Johanna Cathrina Juliana.

1818—*Sept.* 1. Born to Jacobus Washington, son of Jan, and Juliana Sprong, at the Hague, a daughter, baptised in the Convent Church, and named Alleta Amilia Jacomina.

1819—*Sept.* 18. Born to J. G. H. Washington, a daughter, named Jacoba Dorothea (N. B. at the Brielle).

1822—*July* 28. Married, Jacobus Washington, son of D. G. Chamberlain, Colonel and aid de camp of H. M. the King of Bavaria, Commandeur and Knight of sundry orders, A. C. M. A. T. M. G., Dowager van Löchner at Huttenbach, born Baroness de Verger, Lady of the order of Sta Anna.

1823—*July* 21. Died, Levina Johanna Washington, born 23d May, 1803.

1825—*Feb.* 12. Died, Joan Hendrick, born 25 March, 1816.

1825—*Sept.* 14. Born to J. G. H. Washington at Brielle, a second son, Joan Hendrick.

1827—*Feb.* 28. Died, Mrs. Johanna Cornelia Washington, born. v. d. Polder.

1827—*Nov.* 11. Born to Jacobus Washington, son of Daniel, and A. C. M. S. M. G. de Verger, a son, named Louis Charles Auguste Maximilian Gebhart. H. M. the King stood godfather.

1829—*July* 23. Died, Daniel Washington, son of Jan, at the age of 57 years.

1829—*Aug.* 3. Born to Jacobus Washington, Daniel's son, and A. C. M. A. S. M. G. de Verger, a second son, named Maximilian Emanuel Willibald Jan Bernhart Gebhard.

1832—*June* 5. Jan Washington, son of Jan Washington, son of Jan and Maria Kruel, promoted to an officership in the Netherland Camp.

1832—*Nov.* 21. Married, Johanna Cornelia Washington, daughter of Jan Washington and Maria Kruel, to Cornelis Lodewyk Keurenaar at the Hague.

1836—*Jan.* 3. Died, Jan Washington, son of Jan, at the age of fully 68 years.

1836—*April* 26. Born to Cornelis Lodewyk Keurenaar and Johanna Cornelia Washington, a daughter, named Anna Maria.

1837—*May* 26. Died, the last mentioned infant.

1838—*Sept.* 17. Born to Cornelis Lodewyk Keurenaar and Johanna Cornelia Washington at the Hague, a son, Jan August.

1840—*July* 22. Died at the Hague, Maria Kruel, widow of the late Jan Washington, son of Jan, at the age of 55 years.

1843—*Dec.* 11. Died at Gouda, Mrs. Wilhelmina Dorothea Washington, born Lux, at the age of 56 years.

1845—*March* 25. Died, at Surabaya, Jacob Washington, Lieutenant at Sea, 1st Class, Knight of the military order of William, at the age of about 39 years, son of the late Daniel Washington and J. C. van de Polder.

1846—*Jan.* 17. Died at Gouda, Jan Hendrick Washington, aged fully 20 years, only son of J. G. H. Washington and Wilhelmina D. Lux.

1846—*Jan.* 19. Born to Cornelis Lodewyk Keurenaar and Johanna Cornelia Washington at the Hague, a daughter, called Johanna Maria.

1846—*June* 17. Died at Rotterdam, Jacobus Washington, son of Jan, at the age of 84 years.

1847—*Oct.* 8. Died at the Hague, Johanna Maria. born 10th Jan., 1846.

1848—*June* 29. Married, Johanna Catharina Juliana Washington, eldest daughter of Jacobus Gerrit Hildebrand Washington and W. D. Lux, with J. Lux.

1849—*June* 9. Born to Cornelis Lodewyk Keurenaer and Johanna Washington, a daughter, named Johanna Cornelia Louisa.

1851—*Sept.* 24. Died, the last mentioned infant at the Hague.

1853—*Dec.* 3. Born to Cornelis Lodewyk Keurenaer and Johanna Cornelia Washington at the Hague, a daughter, named Johanna Cornelia.

1858—*Sept.* 27. Died at Bergen op Zoom, Johann Jacobus, eldest son of J. Lux and J. C. J. Washington.

1860—*Oct.* 14. Died at the Hague, Johanna Petronella Elisabeth Washington, at the age of 44 years, youngest daughter of Jan Washington and Maria Kruel.

1861—*Sept.* 10. Died, at Oestgeest, Cornelis Lodewyk Keurenaar.

ADDITIONAL PARTICULARS

Furnished by Carl Theodor von Washington

1830—Died, the wife of Jacob, Baron von Washington.

1833—24 *Jan.* Married, Jacobus Baron von Washington, Caroline Baroness Segesser of Brunegg.

1833—27 *Oct.* Born Carl Theodor Baron von Washington.

1840—13 *April.* Died, Caroline Baroness Washington, born Baroness Segesser of Brunegg.

1848—7 *April.* Died, Jacobus Baron von Washington, Chamberlain and Adjutant General of His Majesty the King of Bavaria.

1851—1 *Feb.* Died, Ludwig Baron von Washington, Lieutenant in the 3d Regiment of Infantry.

1855—15 *Aug.* Married, Maximilian Baron von Washington, Frederica, Duchess of Oldenburg.

1856—2 *Aug.* Born, George Baron of Washington.

1858—*June.* Born, Stephan Baron von Washington.

N. B.—All further information respecting the family of Washington is to be obtained from Mr. Jan Keurenaar, Banker at the Hague.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE.—The manuscript of the register, partly in the German and partly in the Dutch language, is preserved in the collections of the New York Historical Society.

EDITOR

COUNCIL OF WAR

AT A BOARD OF GENERAL OFFICERS CONVENED AT NEW WINSDOR THE 12TH DAY OF JUNE 1781

PRESENT

His Excellency the Commander in Chief

Majors General	Brigadiers General
Lord Stirling	Knox
Genl. How	Patterson
Genl. Parsons	Hand
Genl. McDougall	Huntington
	Du Portail

The Commander in Chief informed the Board that the principal reason of his calling them together was to make

them acquainted with the plan of operations concerted between His Excellency The Count de Rochambeau and himself, at their late meeting at Wethersfield— He requested that they would, at all times in the course of those operations, give him their advice and opinions, individually, without hesitation or reserve—assuring them, that he should ever receive them with thankfulness, and that, although circumstances or other considerations might sometimes lay him under the necessity of taking measures different from what might be proposed, he hoped that would be no impediment to their still continuing to communicate to him their ideas.

The Commander in Chief urged to the Board the necessity of economising provisions, and recommended to the Generals, particularly the Brigadiers, the necesssity of inspecting the Returns made by their Commissaries upon every drawing day, in order to see that the quantity of Rations drawn did not exceed the number to which the Brigade was strictly entitled, assuring them that he should, in future, look upon them as answerable for any irregularities upon this head. He here took occasion to state to the Board, generally, the present System of the departments of Commissaries General of Purchase and Issues, and shewed the impossibilty of their being, upon their present plan, a check, as was intended, upon each other, and wished the Board to take the matter into consideration and report any method which appeared to them more likely to answer the end proposed—

He also desired them to take the folmatters into consideration and report upon them accordingly.

1st. A plan for the regular inspection of the Magazines of provision—that the state of the provision may not only be constantly known but that the Commissaries may be called to account for any damage which may appear owing to their negligence.

2d. Whether the number of Issuing post to the Northward of Virginia (agreeable to a return which will be laid before them by the Comm'y Genl.) appear to them necessary. If they do not, pointing out which, in their opinions, ought to be abolished.

3d. A plan for baking for the Army drawn up by General Knox.

4th. The proportion of Women which ought to be allowed to any given number of men, and to whom Rations shall be allowed.

5th. What Officers of the Staff shall be allowed to draw Waiters from the line of the Army.

6th. Whether it will be safe during our advance toward New York and while we are operating against that place, to trust the posts at King's Ferry and West point to the following Garrisons — composed of the weakliest and worst Men, but who are to remain in the Works assigned them.

	C.	LC.	M.	C.	S.	St.	R&F.
North Redoubt				1	1.	2.	25
Middle do.					1.	2.	25
Island				1.	2.	3.	40
No. 1				1	1.	2.	25
2			1.		1.	2.	35
3				1	1.	2.	25
4					1.	2.	25
Fort Putnam				1	2.	3.	75
Webb			1			1.	10
Wyllis					1.	2.	25
Clinton	1			4.	8.	12.	140
	1.	1.	1.	9.	19.	33.	440
Kings Ferry							
Stoney point				1.	1.	2.	30
Verplanks do			1.		1.	2.	30
			1.	1.	2.	4.	60
West point	1.	1.	1.	9.	19.	33.	440
Total	1.	1.	2.	10.	21.	37.	500

7th. How far will it be advisable to encamp the Army—and what place will be best to draw them together in the first instance.

NOTE.—Ms. communicated by John Davies.

LETTERS OF WASHINGTON

SEVENTY
NOW FOR THE FIRST TIME
PUBLISHED
1754 TO 1780

I

Communicated by Joseph J. Cooke

Alexandria, 22d, [March] 1754

Dr. Sir

I wrote to you in Frederick not knowing your Intention of going to Stafford, desiring that all your Men &c. might be in readiness to march by the middle or last of next week at furthest for Ohio: I have just receiv'd the Governor's Orders (which was sent upon the arrival of Captn Trents express) to dispatch with all expedition thither, with the men already raiz'd and such Officers as I see proper: therefore, I shall do myself the Honour of callling upon you for one; I expect several others up this Day, together with three Sloops from York James River, and Eastern Shore with recruits; those who cannot be in readiness to go, are to stay and march with Coln. Frye who is to bring out the remainder of the Men Artillery &c. I shou'd be glad you wou'd repair to Alexandria imediately upon the receipt of this in your way to Winchester that we may consult on proper Means.

I am Dr. Sir
Yr Aff. Hble Servt
Go. WASHINGTON

William Fairfax, Esqr

[*On the reverse of the same leaf is:*]

P. S. I suppose you have read or heard of the Governor's comand requiring all officers to be and appear at Alexandria the 20th inst.

W: Fairfax
22d March

II

Communicated by Simon Gratz

Mount Vernon
Saturday morning [1756]

Dear Madam,

Letters which I have just received from the President and others from Winchester render it necessary for me to set out for Williamsburg to morrow. If you or any of the young Ladies have Letters to send, or other commands that I can execute, I should be glad to be honored with them, and you may depend upon my punctuality—please to accept my Compliments yourself, and offer them to the young Ladies and believe that I am with great truth and sincerity

Dr Madam
yr most obedt & obliged
Go. WASHINGTON

III

Communicated by T. Bailey Myers

Fort Loudon, July 12, 1757

Sir

I received yours of the 10th Inst. Covering the Drummers Deposition about the Enemys Motions and Designs which will I hope prove as favorable to us as the last Intelligence from that Quarter. I have transmitted Governor Dinwiddie a Copy of it and would have sent another to Colo. Stanwix, did not the Bearer assure me that there could be no doubt of your Expresses reaching him in due time. If you should at anytime hereafter have occasion to send an Ex-

press here you need not be at the Trouble of sending it further than Pearsalls whence Captn McKenzie will immediately forward it here. The bearer seems unfit for the Service he is now on being a drunken dilatory Fellow.

I am Sir

Your Most Obedient

Go. WASHINGTON

IV

Communicated by C. W. Frederickson

Alexandria Novr. 13th 1757

Reverend Sir

Necessity—and that I hope will apologize for the trouble I must give you—obliges me to ask the favour of a visit—that I may have an opportunity of consulting you on a disorder which I have lingered under for three Months past—It is painful for me to write—Mr. Carlyle will say the rest—I shall only add, that I am with great esteem

Yr most Obedt. Hble Sevt,

Go. WASHINGTON

To the Reverd Mr. Charles Green

V

Communicated by Joseph W. Drexel

Mount Vernon, July 14th, 1761

Gentn.

This serves to address a copy of my last, and at the sametime to inform you that I have just received advice from my Steward of the Tobacco which he has put on Board the Argo, amounting in the whole to seventy Hhds; Thirty of which belongs to me, and the rest to my Ward Jno. Park Custis. You will please to make a proper Insurance thereon, and as you may readily perceive how much the usual Consignments have been exceeded, for this year or two past, so I hope you will likewise exert your best endeavors in the Sales of our Tobacco's, that by a carefull attention in this necessary point, our corrispondance may be continued with mutual advantages.

I have not sufferd any alterations as yet to be made in the marks of my York River Tobacco; but so soon as you think it can be done with safety please to advise me thereof, that the proper distinctions may be made to avoid confusion hereafter.— The present Crop in Boyce, will be readily enough distinguishd by the Marks and Numbers in the Bills of Lading (if my directions are attended to) because it is to be observd that none of of my D. P C, nor IC Tobacco, have the same numbers or Letters as my Wards, my D P C Leaf beginning with the No 15 and ending with 27, and the Stemd with the Letter H, ending with M.— The IC Leaf begins with 12, and ends with 19 and the Stemd with I ending in M.— This particularity I have been causd to run into here, least the Captn thinking it unnecessary to give separate Bills of Lading contrary to my directions to Mr Valentine shoud Include the whole Tobacco in one Sett, and by that means render it impossible to distinguish one from the other

Johnston is at length safe anchord in the River, but I have neither got my Goods nor Letters yet which came by him; however as he is expected up every Tide I dont doubt but I shall soon receive both.

I am Gentn

Your most Obedt Hble Servt

Go. WASHINGTON

VI

Communicated by C. W. Frederickson

The Warm Springs
26th Aug 1761

Revd Sir

I shoud think myself very inexcusable were I to omit so good an opportunity as Mr. Douglass's return from these Springs, of giving you some Account of the place, and of our approaches to it.

To begin then,—We arriv'd here yesterday, and our journey as you may imagine was not of the most agreeable sort, through such weather & such Roads as we had to encounter; these last for 20 or 25 miles from hence are almost impassible for Carriages, not so much from the Mountainous Country (but this in fact is very rugged) as from Trees that have fallen across the Road, and render'd the way intolerable.

We found of both Sexes about 200 People at this place, full of all manner of diseases & Complaints; some of which are much benefited, while others find no relief from the waters—Two or three Doctors are here, but whether attending as Physicians or to Drink of the Waters I know not.

It is thought the Springs will soon begin to lose their virtues, and the weather get too cold for People not well provided to remain here. They are situated very badly on the East side of a steep Mountain, and Inclo'd by Hills on all Sides, so that the afternoon's Sun is hid by 4 o'clock and the Fogs hang over us till 9 or 10 wch occasion's great Damps and the Mornings and Evenings to be cool.

The Place I am told, and indeed have found it so already, is supply'd with Provisions of all kinds—good Beef & venison, fine veal, Lamb Fowls & &c. may be bought at almost any time, but Lodgings can be had on no terms but building for them, and I am of opinion that numbers get more hurt by their manner of lying, than the waters can do them good, had we not succeeded in getting a Tent & marquee from Winchester we shoud have been in a most miserable situation here—

In regard to myself I must beg leave to say, that I was much overcome with the fatigue of the Ride and weather together—however I think my fevers are a good deal abated, altho' my Pains grow rather worse, and my sleep equally disturb'd; what effect the waters may have upon me I cant say at present, but I expect nothing from the air—this certainly must be unwholesome—I purpose to stay here a fortnight & longer if benefitted—

I shall attempt to give you the best discription I can of the Stages to this place, that you may be at no loss, if after this acct. you choose to come up. Toulston I should recommend as the first, Majr Hamilton's or Israel Thompsons the 2d, ye one abt 30, the other 35 miles distant from thence you may reach Henry Vanmeters on Opeckon Creek or Captn Paris's 4 miles on this side, which will be ab' 35 miles; and then your journey will be easy the following day to this place.

I have made out a very long, and a very dirty Letter, but hurry must apologize for the latter & I hope your fondness will excuse the former,—please to make my Complimts acceptable to Mrs.

Green and Miss Bolan & be assured Revd Sir that with a true respect

I remain Yr most obed & obliged

GO. WASHINGTON

[Revd Charles Green]

P. S. If I coud be upon any certainty of yr comg or coud get only 4 days previous notice of yr arrival I woud get a House built such as are here erected very indifferent indeed, they are tho. for yr. receptn.

30 Augt

Since writing the above Mr. Douglass lost his horse and was detain'd, but I met with a Fairfax man returng home who is to be back again immediately for his wife. This Person I have hird to carry some Letters to Mrs. Washn. und whose cover this goes; by him you are furnish'd with an oppertunity of honoring me with yr commands, if you retain any thoughts of com'g to this place—I think myself benefitted by the waters, and am now with hopes of their making a cure of me, little time will shew now.

VII

Communicated by Simon Gratz

[1763]

Monday Evening

Dear Sir,

I will take the best care I can of your Letters, that for Mr. Waite shall be sent to him, and an answer got, if he works for Mr. Page near Fredericksburg. Anthony and I have examined your Wheels, and find one of them so decayed in the knave that it would sink under the first load. I have therefore forbid his wasting time in making an axle, but to get a pair of wheels from one of my Plantn Carts, and fix to the Tumbrel he is making for you 'till a new pair can be provided. I have also directed Miles to call for my Waggon Harness [Cart Harness I have none, but what are at my Plantns used with the Plows] which will answer your purpose very well, as it is for a single Team.

I directed a man to you on Saturday last with shells, they were not very good, but I did not know how far they might be necessary; my Boat will be at your service whenever you choose to call for her, and I shall enquire as you desire where Paint & Oil may be had, for I believe I shall want of them myself, especially of the latter.

I shall beg leave to say a little now in regard to Jno Askew. That he went to work at your House, was not only with my knowledge but by my express desire, and had he stayd there 'til this time it would have been perfectly agreeable to me; but as you know when he left your work, so I can assure you that he never came to mine until Wednesday or Thursday last. I then asked him if he did not think himself one of the most worthless and ungrateful fellows that lived for his treatment of me—for you must know Sir that so small a job as making the Front Gate in my yard was left him to do when I went to Williamsburg abt the 10th of May last, and was found undone at my return, altho I urged him in the strongest manner I could to get it finished for this very prevalent Reason namely, that I might Inclose my Chariot Horses in a Pasture round the House secured by a Post & Rail fence and by that means prevent them from breaking into a field where I had about 10 acres of Peas, that is now

by his Idlenes and there letting in my sheep entirely rooted out. This as I before said he neglected, and I was from that time untill a day or two before Mr. Carlyle asked for him to go to Belvoir, e'er I coud get him to work again; so that you may partly judge from this of the provocation he has given me, but you will be more convinced of it when I tell you that the Ball'e he owes me is for Tools Imported for him, and money actually lent to keep him from starving and from a Goal, from whence [at least the Sheriffs Custody] I have once or twice redeemed him—and lent him money to cloath & by necessaries for his Family. This is the real truth of the case, and it is so far from my wanting to keep him [longer than he will finish the Gate, and repays 7 days work due to my Carpenters, and how about] that I never desire to see his Face again, if he can fall upon any method of paying what he owes me in money.

I have made an exchange of Plantations with old Saml Johnson, giving the place where Clifton lived for the Lots he held in the Neck, otherwise I shd have been glad to have obliged Doctr Cockburne.

Mrs. Washington will be very glad to see Mrs. Fairfax &c. at Mount Vernon, as I shoud have been—to whom please to tender our Complimts & believe me to be

Dr Sir

Yr Most Obt Hble Servt

Go. Washington

Geo. Wm. Fairfax, Esq.

at

Belvoir

VIII

Communicated by Simon Gratz

Mount Vernon 17th July 1763

Dear Sir,

We were a good deal disappointed in the promised visit—A constant watch was kept until the accustomed Bell gave the signal for Dinner, and said it was time to look no more. We do not readily comprehend the cause of the disappointment, but as Water seems not to be the element favourable to our wishes, we hope you will no longer trust to so uncertain a conveyance, but give us the pleasure of securing a visit at the next appointment. I am under a necessity of going to Frederickburg early in next week [i. e. about the 26th] for a week's stay, to which place if you have any commds I shoud be glad to execute them—Our compliments, I mean Mrs. Green's, he is at Church, Mr. & Mrs. Fairfax's and Mrs. Washington's, are tendered along with those of, Sir.

Yr Most Obedt Hble Servt

Go. Washington

George William Fairfax Esqr

IX

Communicated by Simon Gratz

Fredk. Warm Springs

18th Augt [17]69

Dr Sir,

About a fortnight ago I came to this place with Mrs. Washington and her daughter, the latter of whom being troubled with a complaint, which the efficacy of these waters it is thought might remove, we resolved to try them, but have found little benefit as yet from the experiment; what a week or two more may do, we know not, and therefore are inclined to put them to the Test—it was with much pleasure however I

heard by Mr. Clingan that you stand in no need of assistance from these Springs which I find are applied to in all cases, altho there be a moral certainty of their hurting in some. Many poor miserable objects are now attending here, which I hope will receive the desired benefit, as I dare say they are deprived of the means of obtaining any other releif, from their Indigent Circumstances.

Give me leave now Sir to thank you for the polite & friendly assistance you gave to the affair I took the liberty (in March last) of recommending to your notice—Captn Crawford, from whom I have since heard, informs me, that your Letter procured him a free, and easy admission to the Land office, & to such Indulgences as coud be consistently granted; consequently his work became much less difficult, than otherwise it would have been.

Some confident reports of Indian disturbances at Fort Pitt, drove many famlies in from Redstone, and gave some alarm to the Female Visitors of these waters; but upon a stricter scrutiny into the causes of the reports, we find that mis-representation & ill grounded fears, gave rise to the whole; & that our own People more than the Indians are to blame for the little misunderstandings which have happened among them.

My best respects attend Mrs. Armstrong, in which Mrs. Washington joins, & I am with very great esteem

Dr Sir Yr Most Obedt &
obliged Hble Servt
Go. Washington

Colo. Jno. Armstrong In Carlyle
By favour of Mr. Clingan

X

Communicated by Joseph W. Drexel

Mount Vernon, May 13th, 1770

Sir,

Your favour of the 9th came to hand last night, but I do not think myself prepared at this time to give any conclusive answer to the question you propounded, respecting Mr Custis's travelling to perfect his Education.

It is a matter of very great consequence and well deserving of the most serious consideration especially one who stands in the degree of Affinity to him that I do— A natural Parent has only two things principally to consider, the Improvement of his Son, and the Finances to do it with: if he fails in the first (not through his own neglect) he laments it as a misfortune; if exceeded in the Second, he endeavours to correct it as an abuse unaccountable to any, and regardless of what the World may say, who do not, cannot suspect him of acting upon any other motive than for the good of the Party; he is to satisfy himself only: but this is not the case in respect to Guardians: they are not only to be actuated by the same motives which govern in the other case, but are to consider in what light their conduct may be viewed by those whom the constitution hath placed as a controuling power over them; because a faupas committed by them often incurs the severest censure, and sometimes punishment; when the Intention may be Strictly laudable.

Thus much Sir I have taking the liberty of saying to shew you in what light I consider myself (generally) as the Guardian of this youth: But before I

coud adopt the measure fenally, upon the extensive plan you seem to propose, and give a definitive answer; it would be incumbent on me (as the person who is to acct for his Worldly concerns as well as personal accomplishments) to have some regular System proposed; that it may be seen at one view how the expence and his Income are proportioned to each other, for tho' I am far, very far, from harbouring any distrust of your being influenced by any sinester views, or that you woud be unreasonable in your expectations as his Governor, yet some plan shoud be pointed out, some estimate formed, by which I am to be guided; otherwise were I hastily to determine that a year or two hence (or as his Education and Judgment ripened) he was to travel, and when that period arrivd it was found to be upon a plan too enlargd for his fortune and a stop thereby put to it, it might be a disappointmt to you which I shoud be sorry for, as I make it a point, at least endeavour to do so, not to deceive any one.

From what I have said, you may possibly conceive that I am averse to his Travelling, for the completion of his Education; but be assured Sir I am not; there is nothing, in my opinion, more desirable to form the manners and encrease the knowledge of observant youth than such a plan as you have sketchd out; and I beg of you to believe, that there is no Gentleman under whose care Mrs. Washington and myself woud so soon entrust Mr Custis as yourself (after he is sufficiently instructed in Classical knowledge here) It may be depended on therefore, that the gratification of this passion in him, will never meet with any interuption from me, and I think I may venture to add from his mother, provided he is disposed to set out upon such a Plan of Improvement as your good sense is capable of dictating to him; & provided also that you will undertake to accompany & guide him in the pursuit of it: Add to this, that he will be content with such an allowance as his Income can afford; for here it is also necessary to observe, that tho he is possessd of what is called a good Estate it is not a profitable one— His Lands are poor, consequently the Crops short; and tho' he has a number of slaves, slaves in such cases only add to the Expence— About 60 and from that to 80 Hhds of Tobo. is as much as he generally makes of a year; and if this is cleared, it is as much as can be expected considering the number of People he has to Cloath and the many incident charges attending such an Estate.

This Sir is all the answer I am capable of giving you at present, if you will do me the favour to be more explicit on this subject in another Letter, I will not only think of the matter with the best attention to it I am master of, but advise with some of his, and my friends, whilst I am in Williamsburg as a Justification of my conduct therein,—and as to his being Innoculated for the Small Pox previous to such an Event, the propriety of it is so striking, that it cannot admit of a doubt. In truth my opinion of this is, that it ought to happen whether he travels or not as this disorder will in the course of a few years be scarce ever out of his own Country.

With very great esteem I remain
Rev'd Sir Your most Hble Servt
Go. Washington

The Revd Mr Boucher in Caroline Co.

XI

Communicated by Thomas Addis Emmet

Mount Vernon, Dec'r 3d, 1772

Dear Brother,

I was in great hopes to have met with you at Fredericksburg, or seen you at this place on your way up but it would almost seem as if you had foresworn this part of the Country.

I have taken the liberty of troubling you with the Inclosed Letter to Doctr Briscoe & beg that you will take a copy of it, and serve him with the original when it happens to suit your convenience— I have also by Colo Fairfax wrote to Colo Stephen respecting our Lands over the Mountains, desiring the former if he should not see the latter himself to send the Letter to your care which I beg may be contrived to him by a safe hand.

If you have heard what is done in Kennedy's Replevy please to let me know as I fancy the three months must have expired— I was glad to hear by Charles, that you still entertain'd some thoughts of coming down this Winter, but as I have met with so many disappointments, I shall never expect till I see you ; My love in wch Mrs. Washington &c. joins is offer'd to Yr self, my Sister & Family & I am Dr Sir

Yr Most Affec Br

Go. Washington

To Colo Saml Washington

XII

Communicated by Simon Gratz

Mount Vernon April 20th, 1773

Dear Sir

As it would be very inconvenient to to me to set out for New York as soon as I returned from Williamsburg, I have resolved to postpone my journey to the last mentioned place, & of course to give you the trouble of doing my business there ; I have therefore by the bearer, Inclos'd you some Bonds, and orders for money, which I beg the favour of you to receive for me. The account against Mr. Mattw. Whiting Mr. Mongomerie is to pay, as you may see by my Letter to him, left open for your perusal— Should Mr. Montgomerie contrary to my expectation, refuse to allow for the loss I sustaind by my Brothr. Charles's receivg 340 Dollars at 6/. please to take care of the papers which contains a List of the different kinds of money in his own handwriting, as it was paid, for I am determined not to submit to it ; as Mr. Montgomerie, after neglecting to pay the money in Williamsburg, had no right to impose Dollars at that value— Whatever sum you receive from him, on acct. of Mr. Whiting's Bond, willl go towards lessening my claim upon Armistead's Estate, which you may see by the Inclosed Acct. & Protest, & which I beg the favour of you to endeavour to receive for me. Messrs. Buckner's Bond (Inclosd) is accompanied by a Letter to them, pressing payment of the money to you, as I have very urgent occasion for what money I can collect— You also have a Letter to Colo. Bannister requesting him to pay you £32–10—& I have wrote to young Mr. Edmd. Pendleton, & also to Colo. Carter Braxton (one of Colo. Bernd. Moore's Trustees) and to Mr. Armistead for £401–11–0–sterlg. due from the said Moore's Estate for Intt. of the Bond to which Colo. Baylor was Security ; and hope that it will be

paid, as I have informd them that the Bond will be put in Suit without— I have some hopes likewise, that Mr. John Fry (or Mr. John Nicholas in his behalf) will pay you the sum of £31–0–4 which he stands indebted to me for his proportion of the expenses of Patenting the Ohio Lands, and I should be obliged to you to ask Mr. Norton if Mr. Thruston has not desired him to pay £12–1–9 on the same acct., & to receive it if he did. Mr. Thruston informs me that he has desired Mr. Norton to pay this sum to me at this Court. Should you go over to Gloucester—or, if there is any Body that does business in Wmsburg for your Brother, please to know if it will be convenient to pay the £40 due last October for the Interest of his Bond, and ask Mr. Hill for what money he collects for me— Out of which several Sums please to pay the following Drafts, which I expect will be there against me (or you in my stead), Mr. Hodge for a servant (Gardner) bought of him £35 Cy., Mr. Robt. Washington £60 in part for the two Negroes mentioned in my last, bought of him. The rest of the money be so good as to bring up to me, as I shall be a good deal distressed to comply with my wheat, and other engagements, if I meet with a disappointment in these several payments to you. As soon as matters in respect to them are reduced to a certainty, be so good as to write me from Wmsburg by the Post (preferable to any other conveyance, as I know where to send for these Letters) what it is I have to rely on; and, as soon as you return home, advise me thereof, that I may send for the needful. I had like to have forgot that it is possible Captn. Page (or Mr. Carr in his behalf) may demand £14–14–0 Sterlg, which I promised to pay in Apl.;—if it is demanded of you, please to discharge it; if not, take no notice of it yourself— and be so good also as to receive the Inclosed small acct. at the Treasury. I have left all my Letters open, that by perusing them you may be the better acquainted with my expectations, and of course transact it with greater ease. Inclos'd you have a List of the Several Sums which I expect to receive, and pay, agreeable to the several orders; and in case I should recollect any other business, I should be obliged to you whilst in Williamsburg, to enquire at the Post office on Saturdays, for Letters, as I shall write to you by the Post if I do.

I am Dr. Sir with our best wishes

Yr. Most Affecte Hble Servt.

Go. Washington

Col. Fielding Lewis

P. S. Please to let me know by the first Post if this Letter & Papers have got safe.

N. B. I wrote the foregoing Letter in much haste, expecting to send it by a Person who, I was inform'd, would take Fredericksburg in his way to Williamsburg, a few days ago; wishing it to get to hand before you sat of on the 18th as advis'd. I now forward it by Mr. Henderson, to be delivered in Williamsburg, being disappointed in my first expectation; and have to request that, after being satisfied of the collection you will make on my acct., if the amount (when the several sums of £35 £60 £14–14 Sterl. and a further sum of £50 assumd to Wm. Crawfords order, in favr. of John Hite are paid) falls short of £300. that you will make up that sum

as near as you can, by selling the Inclosd Bills, and remit it to me by Mr. Henderson; as I shall not, otherwise, receive it before my departure to New York, which is now fixed to about the 8th of next month; if you can on the other hand collect, or find you can collect, as much money as will make those payments, and furnish me with £300 besides, then, and in that case, please to return the Bills to me again— if you could contrive to provide half Joes for me (but remember there are a great number of forged ones in circulation) it would suit my present purposes best— Let me know to whom each of the within Bills are sold, if you dispose of them at all, that I may know to give advice properly.

I am as before
Yrs &c
G. W——N

XIII

Communicated by Joseph J. Cooke

Cambridge, 30th Oct., 1775

Dear Sir,

After you left this yesterday Mr Tudor presented me with the Inclosed — as there may be observations worthy of notice I forward it to you, that it may be presented to the Congress; but I would have his remarks upon the frequentcy of General Courts Martial considered with some degree of caution, for although the nature of his office affords him the best opportunity of discovering the imperfection of the present Rules and Regulations for the Army, yet a desire of lessening his own trouble may induce him to transfer many matters from a Genl Court Martial where he is the principal actor, to Regimental Courts where he has nothing to do— I do not know that this is the case, but as it may be, I think it ought not to be lost sight of.

In your conference with Mr Bache be so good as to ask him whether the two Posts which leave Philadelphia for the Southward both go through Alexandria, & if only one, which of them it is, the Tuesdays or Saturdays, that I may know how to order my Letters from this place.

My letter to Coll. Harrison on the subject we have been speaking of, is inclosed, and open for your perusal,—put a Wafer under it, and make what use you please of it.— Let me know by the Post ordr what the World says of Men & things:— My Compliments to Mrs Reed & with sincere regards I remain Dr Sir

Yr affect Humble Ser
Go. Washington

Joseph Reed Esqr.

XIV

Communicated by Joseph J. Cooke

Cambridge 15 November 1775

Sir

Enclosed you have a Copy of instructions given to Genl Sullivan on his departure for Ports-mouth New Hampshire. As it is now very apparent that we have nothing to depend on in the present Contest but our own strength, care firmness & union, should not the same measures be adopted in yours and every other Government on the Continent? Would it not be prudence to seize on those Tories who have been, are & that we know will be active against us? Why should persons who

are preying upon the vitals of their Country be suffered to stalk at large, whilst we know they will do us every mischief in their power? these Sir are points I beg to submit to your serious Consideration.

I congratulate you on the surrender of St Johns which hope will soon be followed by the reduction of the rest of Canada. I have the honor to be with great respect

Sir Your Most H. Servt
Go. Washington

The Honble Governor Cooke

XV

Communicated by Joseph J. Cooke

Cambridge, 27th Novr, 1775

Dear Sir.

Your Letter of the 16th by Post now lyes before me, & I thank you for the attention paid to my Memorandums; the arrival of Money will be an agreeable Circumstance.

I recollect no occurrance of moment since my last, except the taking possession of Cobble Hill on Wednesday night, this to my great surprize we did, and have worked on ever since, without receiving a single shott from Bunkers Hill —the Ship—or Floating Batteries—what all this means we know not, unless some capitol strike is meditating.— I have caused two half Moon Batterries to be thrown up for occasional use, between Litchmore's Point & the mouth of Cambridge River; and another Work at the Causey going on to Litchmores point to command that pass & rake the little Rivulet which runs by it to Patterson's Fort.— besides these I have been, & mark'd out, three places between Sewell's point, & our Lines on Roxbury Neck for Works to be thrown up, and occasionally mann'd in case of a Sortee, when the Bay gets Froze.

By order of Genl Howe, 300 of the poor Inhabitants of Boston were landed on Saturday last at point Shirley, destitute almost of everything; the Instant I got notice of it, I informed a Committee of Council thereof that proper care might be taken of them— Yesterday in the Evening I received information that one of them was dead, & two more expiring; & the whole in the most miserable & piteous condition— I have order'd Provision to them till they can be remov'd but am under dreadful apprehensions of their communicating the small Pox as it is Rief in Boston— I have forbid any of them coming to this place on that acct.—

A Ship well fraught with Ordinance, Ordinance Stores &c is missing & gives great uneasiness in Boston, her Convoy has been in a fortnight— I have orderd our Arm'd Vessels to keep a good look out for her— the same reasons which restrained you from writing fully, also prevent me. I shall therefore only add that I am

Dr Sir Yr Affect Hble Serv
Go. Washington

If any Waggon should be coming this way, Pray order a qty of good writing Paper to head Quarters, & Sea'g Wax.

Joseph Reed Esqr.

XVI

Communicated by Joseph J. Cooke

Cambridge, Dec. 14, 1775

Sir

Your favor of the 11 Instant was

handed me by the two French Gentlemen, for which I am exceedingly obliged to you— I have heard their proposals and plan for supplying the Continent with Arms & Ammunition, which appears plausible and to promise success; But not thinking myself authorized to enter into any contract respecting the same, and being not fully acquainted with the measures Congress have adopted for procuring these articles, I have prevailed upon them to go to Philadelphia and recommended them and the consideration of their plan to that Body, where the matter will be finally agreed upon or rejected— I must pray the favour of you to furnish every neccessary for accomodating them & Carriages with all expedition for carrying them as far as Governor Trumbulls. They are to Travel at the Continental expence, and whatever charge you may be at, on their account, you will be pleased to transmit to me and It shall be immediately reimbursed.

I am Sir With great esteem
Your Hble Servt
Go. WASHINGTON

Honr Governor Cooke

XVII

Communicated by Edward E. Sprague

[Cambridge, 22d March, 1776]

The General presents his best respects to Doctr Morgan— Upon enquiry of Colonel Mifflin, concerning the Horse (the Doctr very kindly made a tender of to him) he is given to understand, that this Horse did not belong to the King or any of his officers; but was the property of a Doctr Loyd, an avow'd Enemy to the American Cause—

As the Genl does not know under what predicament the property of these kind of People may fall; In short, if there was no kind of doubt in the case, as the Horse is of too much value for the General to think of robbing the Doctr of, he begs leave to return him; accompanied with sincere thanks for the politeness with which he was presented, and this request, that the Doctr will not think the General meant to slight his favors.

He is sorry to hear of Mrs Morgan's Indisposition, hopes she is better to day.

Friday Morning 22d March 1776

To Doctr Morgan
D. Genl Hospital

XVIII

Communicated by Joseph J. Cooke

Cambridge, 28th March, 1776

Dear Sir

General Howe has a grand Manouvre view—or—has made an inglorious retreat.—Yesterday Evening the remains of the British Fleet left Nantasket Road & (except an Arm'd Vessel or two) hath left the Coast quite clear of an Enemy—Six more Regiments will instantly march for New York—two days hence another,—and a day or two after that our whole force, except about 3 or four Regiments to erect such works as shall be adjudged necessary for the security of this place—In three or four days from this date I shall follow myself—In other words, the moment I can put things upon such a footing as the exigency of Affairs may require, I shall depart.—

I have receiv'd your favor of the 15th Inst but hurried as you may well suppose me to be (in sending expresses to

one and another) upon this occasion I shall only add that I am with sincere regard and affection

Your most obedt Servt

Go. Washington

Joseph Reed Esqr.

XIX

Communicated by Joseph J. Cooke

New York, 23d April 1776

My Dear Sir

I have been favourd with several of your Letters since I came to this place, some of them indeed after getting pretty well advanced on the Road towards Boston—My extreame hurry with one kind of business and engagement or another, leaves me little more than time to express my concern for your Indisposition, and the interposition of other obstacles to prevent me from receiving that aid from you which I have been wishing for & hourly expecting.

Your Letter of the 18th descriptive of the jealousies and uneasinesses which exist among the Members of Congress is really alarming—if the House is divided, the fabrick must fall, and a few Individuals perish in the Ruins.—For the occurrances of this place I shall beg leave to refer you to Mr. Palfrey, who at the particular request of Mr. Hancock comes to Philadelphia.

The sooner my Camp Equipage is sent to this place the better, that it may be ready for any Service I may be sent, or find necessary to go upon—If you could hire Horses to bring the Waggon &c to this place and could conveniently and readily, sell those two you bought I would now rather wish it as the use for them is uncertain, and the expense of keeping them (Provender being both scarce and dear) great—to which may be added that I have not the same occasion now as when I first required them, having taken four of the Troop Horses which were found in Boston and which answered the purpose exceeding well from Cambridge here to fit out my Baggage Waggons. I do not mean however by what I have said that you should with-hold the Horses if you cannot immediately & readily dispose of them without loss.

Inclosed is a letter to Mr. Hancock for payment for the whole. I am with sincere esteem and regard

Dr Sir

Yr Most Affecty Hble Ser,

Joseph Reed Esqr.

Go. Washington

XX

Communicated by Frank Moore

Head Quarters June 14th 1776

Sir

You are to repair to Fort Montgomery and take upon you the comm. of the Posts in the Highlands — use every means in your power to provide your Regiment with arms fit for service—one step towards which endeavour to Imploy an armourer or two or more as the case may require—

Use every possible diligence in forwarding the works at Forts Montgomery & Constitution, agreeable to late directions given Mr. Bullow, who will furnish you with the same as it is pro [posed] by the Provincial Congress of New York to recall their Commissioner [from charge] of those posts and leave the care of them altogether to the Commanding officer of

the Continental Forces and his orders.

As these are or may become Posts of infinite importance, especially the lower one, I can not sufficiently Impress upon you the necessity of putting them into a fit Posture of Defence without delay— I have desired that a Battalion, of at least five hundred of the New York Militia, may be ordered to reinforce those Garrisons, as well for the purpose of defence as to assist in the work—these are also to be under your command.

The whole are to be kept close to duty & not suffered to be absent on Furlough, but in cases of real necessity, and then not more than two at a time are to be absent, from a Company at once.

Review the men, Inspect the arms &c & make Reports of the state of them, so soon as you get to these Posts —— Lieut. Col. Livingston is to be sent from this place in order to proceed to long Island to take charge of the remainder of your Regiment toward the East end thereof—

Inform me if there are Barracs or Houses convenient to the Forts Montgomery & Constitution in which the Millitia ordered there may be lodged— make daily returns of your strength and advise [*Manuscript defaced*]
and of Importance

Given under my hand

Head Quarters near the city of New York, this

14th day of June 1776

Go. Washington

To Colo. [James] Clinton

XXI

Communicated by Joseph J. Cooke

Head Quarters
New York 15th July 1776

Dear Sir

Since my last Two of the Enemies Ships, One of Forty the other twenty Guns, taking advantage of a Strong Wind and Tide pass'd us notwithstanding a warm fire from all our Batteries, they now lie in Taapan Sea, between Twenty and thirty Miles up Hudsons River, where no Batteries from Shore can molest them, their Views no doubt are to cut of all Communication between this and Albany by Water, which they effectually will do—If the Gundaloes Row Gallies &c. from Providence and Connecticut were here I should think of making their Station uncomfortable. If possible I must request they may be sent on, as soon as conveniently may be, I have wrote Governor Trumbull requesting the same of him, 'tis not unreasonable to suppose these Ships have a number of Small Arms on Board which are intended to put into the hands of the disaffected on the North River and in the back parts of this Province when a favorable opportunity may offer for their making use of them against Us. I am sorry to say their numbers by the best information I can get are great.

We have one large Row Galley compleate and another which will be ready by the time those arrive from Providence and Connecticut, the whole when collected will be sufficient to Attack the two Ships up the River,—if no material alteration between this time and their arrival, the channel they now lie

in is so narrow they cannot work their Guns to Advantage.—Lord Howe arrived on Fryday last—his fleet cannot be far of—I have the Honor to be with Esteem Sir

Yr Most Huml Servt
Go. WASHINGTON

The Hon'ble Nicholas Cooke Esqr
att Providence

XXII

Communicated by James E. Mauran

Morristown Jan 11, 1777

Whereas the Honourable Congress by a resolve of the 27th ulto have appointed Sixteen Battallions more to be raised in addition to Eighty Eight Noted in September last & have authorized me to nominate & Commission Officers for the same— Know you that I reposing the utmost Confidence in your Abilities & attachment to the United States of America—by Virtue of the power aforesaid, do Constitute and appoint you, a Colonel of one of the said Battalions, giving and granting you, by & with the Advice of your other Field Officers, to appoint all Officers (under the Rank of Field Officer) necessary for the same. Nevertheless reserving to myself the right of Ratifying or Rejecting such appointments, and as many good Officers may have been Overlooked in the New appointments by the Committees of the several States Assigned for the discharge of that Business—it is my wish that you give a preferrence to such of them as you know to be deserving of Notice.

I do hereby require & enjoin you forthwith to take Measures for Recruiting such Battalions in the most expeditious manner to serve for the Term of Three years or During the Continuance of the War with Great Brittain & upon such pay, bounties & allowances as have been resolved on by Congress for these Eighty Eight Battalions Aforesaid.

Given at Head Quarters Morris Town this Eleventh day of Januy, 1777

Go. WASHINGTON

To Henry Sherburne Esqr.

XXIII

Communicated by Joseph J. Cooke

Head Qrs. Morristown
12th Janr 1777

Dear Sir

Yours of the eleventh is come to hand. If the account the prisoners give be true it is a very agreeable and important one.

The order you sent to Colonel Winds has interfered with a plan, concerted by Generals Sullivan & Maxwell. Whenever you have occasion to order a movement of any part of the army, it will be best to apply to the Commanding officer, lest it may, as it has in the present instance, interfered with some other object. I wish you had brought Vanhorne of with you, for from his noted character, there is no dependance to be placed upon his Parole,—nothing new here but the arrivall of Genl. Stevens with the baggage of the Army. Genl. Putnam is or soon will be at Princeton. Heath is moveing towards Kingsbridge, a Detachment from that quarter are at Ramapa.

I am
Dear Sir your affcte H. St
Go. WASHINGTON

Colonel Reed

XXIV

Communicated by James E. Mauran

Morris Town, January 12th 1777

Sir

Instructions Recruiting Orders—and a Warrant for 6000 Dollars to Recruit with, are now Inclosed to you—Copies of the Recruiting Orders are to be given to the Officers so soon as they are nominated, & I should think if only part of the bounty was given to the Men at the time of enlisting them and the residue when they join their Regt. it might be a means of preventing Desertion.

You are to fix upon some Central place for the Rendezvous of your Recruits where you are to attend in order to receive—form—Cloath—Discipline and provide necessaries for your Regiment—the Recruits with proper Officers are to be Assembled at that place as fast as they are Inlisted—and you are once a week to advise me of the State of your Regiment & how you proceed in the Recruiting of it—

The short time allowed us for the most Vigorous Exertions which I am persuaded Render Arguments unnecessary to stimulate you to the speedy Completion of your Regiment and preparing it for the Field.

In this Business I heartily wish you success & am Sir yr most Obt Servt

Go. Washington

Eleazar Oswald, late with Genl Arnold is to be yr Lt. Col.

—— Bradford—is to be your Major. Henry Sherburne Esq

XXV

Communicated by Joseph J. Cooke

Morris Town Jany. 14, 1777

Dear Sir.

I very much approve of your visiting Genl. Putnam, as I cannot acc't for his remaining at Crosswicks instead of removing to Princeton, as I have desired in several of my Letters.—

I would have him keep nothing at Princeton (except two or three days provisions) but what can be moved off at an hours warning.—in that case, if good Scouting Parties are kept constantly out, no possible damage can happen to the Troops, under his Command; who are to retreat, in case they are compelled to leave Princeton, towards the Mountains, so as to form a junction with the army under my immediate Command.—This will serve as a direction to him in removing the stores if any yet remain at Princeton.

I would have no time lost in drawing the Flour from the Mills on Millstone, least the Enemy should attempt, & avail themselves of it.—I would also have Genl. Putnam draw his Forage as much as possible from the Vicinity of Brunswick, that the Enemy may thereby be distressed. The inhabitants of that district should be compelled to bring it in.—

The two Companies under Command of Col. Durkee, aided by the militia in that Quarter should be constantly harassing the Enemy about Bound Brook and the Westward side of Brunswick (Rareton I mean)—I have directed Genl. Sullivan to do the like on the quarter next him.

Particular attention should be paid to the Surgeon sent by Lord Cornwallis (by my consent) to take charge of their wounded at Princeton.—He will more than probably, convey a true acct. of your numbers (which ought to be a good deal magnified) at Princeton; and give other useful knowledge of your

Situation.—If therefore, the wounded are in a condition to remove, would it not be best to send them to Brunswick with the Surgeon? If any of them, or their attendants, have been considered and properly were Prisoners to us, for an equal number to be demanded in lieu.—

I have inclosed Genl. Howe a copy of Mr. Yates's declaration, and have remonstrated sharply on the treatment of our Prisoners.—What have you done with the Negro you apprehended? The waggon with the ammunition and watch coats, I am obliged to you for taking care of.—It is not yet arrived.—In what manner did Col. Quick's militia leave the Rangers?—In the Field?—runaway? If so, they ought to be punished, or sham'd.

I recollect my approving of Wind way laying of the Roads between Brunswick and Amboy.—I must beg the favr. of Colo. Cox, in your absence, to continue the pursuit after Intelligence.—Would it not be well for the Militia under Colo. Malcolm to unite with the Rangers for the purpose of keeping out constant scouts to annoy and harass the Enemy in manner before mentioned?—I ask for information, as I would not suffer a man to stir beyond their Lines, nor suffer them to have the least Intercourse with the Country.—

I am Dr Sir Yr obed. & affec

Go. Washington

[To Colonel Joseph Reed]

XXVI

Communicated by Joseph J. Cooke

Morris Town Jan: 15th, 1777

Dear Sir

The enclosed was intended to have gone by the Express who brought me your last Letter—He came in the Evening of the 13th, was desired to call early next morning, & I have never seen or heard of him since.

Many days ago I wrote to Genl. Putnam supposing him to be at Princeton to have the stores rescued from the hands of the Militia who had borne them off, and had no doubt but he had done it.—What in the name of Heaven he can be doing at Crosswicks I know not, after my repeated wishes to hear of him at Princeton.—Surely he is there by this time.—In that case desire him from me, to use every possible means to recover the stores and bring the authors to punishment; especially Colo. Chambers to whom I have written on this subject.

I will speak to the Quarter Master Genl. for a Person to be sent on this business but apprehend from what I heard him say yesterday, that he has nobody to spare not being able to carry on his business here for want of Biddle & Mifflin who are both absent [and] sick.

If the Militia cannot be prevail'd upon to restrain the Foraging parties & to annoy and Harass the Enemy in their excursions & upon a march they will be of very little use to us, as I am sure they can never be brought fairly up to an attack in any serious matter.

When you see Genl. Mercer be so good as to present my best wishes to him—& congratulations (if the state of his health will admit of it) on his recovery from death.—You may assure him that nothing but the confident assertion to me that he was either dead–

or within a few minutes of dying, and that he was put into as good a place as I could remove him to, prevented my seeing him after the action, & pursuit at Princeton.

My Complim'ts also if you please to Colo. Coxe, from whom I shall expect a continuation of such Intelligence as occurs & he is able to procure.

Yrs &c

Go. Washington

P. S. The letter to Colo Chambers you will have sent—it is open for your perusal.

[Colonel Joseph Reed]

XXVII

Communicated by James E. Mauran

Head Qrs Morristown,
Feby 10th 1777

Sir—I yesterday evening received your Letter of the 4th Inst: and in answer thereto, inform you that I have not the least objection to your appointing Major Meigs your Lieut. Colo. in the room of Mr Oswald, his character as a Soldier and an Officer being good and such as deserves notice; However, previous to this measure I wish you to Consider the prospect you have of raising your Regiment, for tho it is my desire to promote men of Credit to office and to rank, yet a regard to publick interest will not authorize their promotions without they can be of service afterwards, and multiplying the number of Officers without Regiments, will not be answering the end proposed, viz adding to our strength, but will be incurring a heavy and large expence. I regret much the policy of the New England States which has given rise to so many difficulties and which I fear will be severely felt. I Cannot give directions for an Extra bounty, that would be approving a measure which I have always Condemned, and which so far from being justifiable has been reprobated by Congress as impolitick & injurious to the publick Cause. If the Gentlemen appointed in those Governments to a part of the Sixteen additional Battallions cannot make up their Corps, the truth of these observations will be verified, and happy will it be, if the measure should not extend its baneful influence elsewhere.

I am Sir Yr Most Obedt Servt

Go. Washington

To Col. Henry Sherburne—
by favor of Maj. Meigs

XXVIII

Contributed by Simon Gratz

Head Qrs Morristown
Feby 14, 1777

Gentn

I have now before me your two Letters of the 29th Ulto. and the 8th Inst. with which you have been pleased to honour me. The disputes subsisting about Rank in Colo. McCoy's Regiment, I will try to settle and accommodate agreeable to your request, should I hear anything more upon the Subject. I have not yet seen the Colo.—

In respect to the return of Lt. Roble & Ensigns Hoffour and Sneider with the privates they have, I cannot see any necessity for it. It is true their number is but small, yet as every aid at this time is wanted, and their presence at Philadelphia not necessary to facilitate the levying, or the arrangement of the

Regiment, I think their return should be dispensed with.

I am much obliged by your attention to my several Letters. The collection of the public arms, is a subject that requires much of our care—The utmost of our industry, I am apprehensive, will not entirely relieve us from difficulties & embarrassments on that Head. Our demand for Artillerists will make the arrival of Captn Courtnay's company seasonable and of importance.

I have the Honor to be
with much esteem yr most Obedt St.
Go. Washington

[Committee of Congress]

XXIX

Communicated by Joseph J. Cooke

Morristown Feby 23d, 1777

Dear Sir

Your Letters of the 13th and 18th inst. are both to hand—the last in date arrived first,—the first this morning only.

I am sorry, upon the footing you have put it, and under the apprehensions you seem to be, that I did not accept your Commission as Adjt. Genl. when you offered it, tho' your fears cannot be realized, because at that time it was mentioned in Genl. Orders, that you having resigned, Colo. Weedon was appointed Pro. Tem; your having the Comn. in possession therefore can be no argument against your Resignation—but I am willing to accept it at any time.

I am sorry the Cartel settlmt by Genl. Conway with the French cant be found—I have lately wrote to Genl. Gates for it, who I think told me he had it.—I would by no means wish you to come up merely on that acct; especially as I have not, as yet, got any answer from Congress relative to my recommendation of you to the Command of the Horse.—If they should listen to my wishes in this appointment,—if a separate Quarter Master is necessary for the Horse, & Colo. Coxe Inclines to accept it, I can have no possible objection to it, but how far the Rank of Colo. can be annexed to the office I cannot undertake to say. I would wish to think of it a little

I believe all the Prisoners from the Eastern States are now gone in.—that they did not do it long ago is not my fault.—this I thought Colo. Miles had been satisfied of when he was out—& what method I could devise to furnish their pay, except in a currency that would not pass, I am sure I know not,—all the hard money that could be had he must know was sent in.—

I am not a little surprised at what you mention concerning Colo. Griffin.—Before Christmas I offered him a Regiment, & the nomination of his own officers—this he refused.—Since that he has been offered the Leiutenant Colonency of a Regiment of Horse, & this he has refused.—If his expectations are higher than that of a Regiment, which he was offered (even before I was vested with full Powers to do it) the Congress are alone competent to the gratification of them, as I have no authority to go beyond what I have already offered him.

If you should have the Command of the Horse, it will be quite agreeable to me that you should have one of those that was bought at Boston.—if you have not, as they were got for that particular

service by Express order of Congress and I have already refused Genl. Green, I could not with propriety consent to it, as I mean, after choosing a couple, or three, for my own use, to throw the rest into some of the Troop, or let them go among the officers.

I wish your leisure would permit you to digest a proper plan for the prevention of Desertion, and apprehension of Deserters that would have a general operation throughout all the United States.—I have, in general terms recommended to Congress, and to all the States Individually, the absolute necessity of adopting some efficatious mode to accomplish the latter, but each will, unless some method can be adopted by, or recommended from Congress, or the Commander of the Army, have some newfangled, or inadequate schemes of their own.—In like manner, if you can give any assistance to Genl. Mifflin in an arrangement of waggons I shall be glad of it.—One Snickers, a Gentlem. on or near Shanondoah in Fredk County, Virginia has offered to buy a number. He is a person well acquainted in this business, and may be depended on.

I think the Congress ought not, under the present appearance of things by any means to return to Philadelphia—I think we are now in one of the most critical periods wch America ever saw, & because the Enemy are not in actual motion (by the by I believe they are not far from it) every body seems to be lulled into ease and Security.—

Would Colo. Coxe accept the appointment of Comy of Prisoners?—if he will, I wish to God he would repair hither immediately—I want a shrewd sensible man exceedingly for this business & obtaining Intelligence which offices are very corrispondent—Let me hear from you on this point as quick as possible—the Pay may, I presume be equal to that of Colonel.—

I am Dr Sir Yr most Obect Ser

Go. Washington

[Colonel Joseph Reed]

XXX

Communicated by Edward E. Sprague

Camp near Clove July 24th 1777

My Lord

Since my last to you; dated at Gallaways in the Clove, I have march'd one division of the Army to this place whilst two others proceeded to Chester, to be ready to march by a back road to Philada (if need be) or to cross at New Windsor, if the Enemy, contrary to our present expectation, should attempt to operate up the North, or East River—

I have to request, that your Lordship would apply to Genl. Putnam to have Boats ready to throw your division (and such other Troops, as occasion shall require) across the North River with the utmost expedition, upon notice given, which if at all, will be sudden—or, how would it answer if your Lordships division was to come over to this side, and wait orders? Could you recross being on the spot, and Boats ready, before the communication could be stopped?—and which is of consequence, could your men get comfortably covered in the Neighbourhood of Kings Ferry?

My last advices, which can be depended upon, are that the Enemy's Fleet except 40 Sail (which are at New York) have fallen down to the Hook,

that it consists of 170 Sail of Topsail vessels, and abt 50 or 60 smaller ones—this, with the Report of the Pilots being Southern ones & some other Circumstances have led to a belief that Phila is the object—Was this certain no time shd be lost in drawing both yours and Genl. Sullivan's divisions (with other Troops) over—under the probability of it, however, it is I have suggested the idea of your recrossing, and do further suggest the propriety of Genl. Sullivan's taking your ground at Peeks Kill; for if there is no appearance of the Enemy in the Sound his moving Easterly towards Crum pond is altogether useless—

I do not give these as orders, but wish you to consult Genl. Putnam, and the other General officers on that side, & see how my ideas corrispond with theirs & such certain Intelligence as you may have and act accordingly—If the Enemy are destined for Philadelphia these moves will facilitate the March of the Troops thither—if to the Eastward, they will be retrograde.—but such is the disadvantage we do, and such we must labour under, if the Enemy have Cunning enough to keep their own Councils, whilst they have shipping to move in, and the absolute Command of the water.

I am with great regard yr Lordships most obedt Hble Servt

Go. Washington

Majr Genl. Lord Stirling, Peeks kill

XXXI

Communicated by Edward E. Sprague

Near Pottsgrove 24th Sept. 1777
½ after 5 oclock P. M.

My Lord

Since I have seen Captn Faulkner, and by him learnt the situation of Genl. McDougal, I am really uneasy to find how low he is down & near to the Enemy (if they continue in the same position they were this morning)

Captn Faulkner says your Lordship proposed to send an officer to conduct him by some upper Road, but lest any other business should have withdrawn your attention from this matter, I send to inquire, & if it is not done, to beg that not a moments time may be lost in doing of it.—To do this expeditiously is, in my judgment a matter of great Importance, as I conceive they will if they can get any Intelligence of his situation and numbers (this night) aim a stroke at him.—Besides the officer that may have gone, I also beg that a few light horse with a good guide or two, may be sent to Patrole between him and the Enemy with orders to give him notice of any movement which may appear towards him this night

After expressing my uneasiness on this head I shall rely upon yr. Lordships care &c. to guard against the stroke which I think (if the Enemy have knowledge of McDougals Situation) may be aimed—Your Lordship will please to forward any accts which may come to your hands of the Enemy's Situation or movements.

I am my Lord Yr Lordships Most Ob

Go. Washington

[Major General Lord Stirling]

XXXII

Contributed by John Davies

Head Quarters Sept 25th 1777
11 Oclock A.M.

My Lord

I have your favor of 8 Oclock now be-

fore me, and am surprised to find the Enemy in the same situation after the movement which they appear'd to be making according to the Information given by Genl. Reed.—

I am sorry the Picquets march'd from hence yesterday, & I am still more concern'd that Genl. Armstrong with the militia moved to the Trap, as it was owing to a mistake they were not halted along with the other Troops at this place, the countermand of the march being intended for the whole, tho, I presume it never reached Genl. Armstrong.—

Under these circumstances, and the present appearance of the weather (which has induced me to pitch our Tents, and see what the clouds have in charge) I mean to Halt here, at least to day especially as I find Genl Wayne will not be up till night (if then) and Smallwood not till to morrow, I should be glad therefore if your Lordship would consult Genl. Armstrong & the other Genl. officers with you, and determine whether it will be best for you to march back the Picquets, & for Maxwells Corps to join their respective Brigades immediately or wait till to morrow.—

That you may be the better enabled to determine this feint I am to inform you, that I have directed Genl. McDougall to Halt at a place mark'd in the map Markeys, on the Skippack Road, between Welgers & Pennebakers Mill (at a star in the Fork of Perkiomy) and officers are gone out to view the ground thereabouts, to see if it w'd be a convenient situation to assemble our Troops at & form a Camp ; at the same time I must add that the Curr't Sentiment of the Genl. Officers here, is, that it is too near the Enemy till we are in a better condition to meet them on any ground than we seem to be at present.— I shall only add that the reason for halting McDougal there, is to save him the fatigue of a Counter March if we should move that way, as his Troops must be greatly fatiegued by the length, & (of late) the rapidity of his march to form a junction with us.—How far his situation there may be eligable, a few hours, with the Intellegence they may bring, will probably determine,—your Lordship will as before desired take the sentiments of the Officers with you on these matters & let me know the result—I am yr Lordships most Obed,

Go. Washington

[Major General Lord Stirling]

XXXIII

Communicated by Frederick E. Gibert

Head Qrs. Philad. County
15th Octob 1777

Dear Sir

Note. — This letter is printed in Sparks' Writings of Washington [Vol. V, 91], the following postscript to it being omitted.

P S. By sundry concuring accounts of persons out of Philadelphia and from Deserters, the Enemy's loss in the action of the 4th was very considerable. The lowest say it was 1500 killed and wounded, others 200 & some as high as 2500. Perhaps the two last are exaggerated, but there are many reasons to believe that the first cannot much exceed the mark. For they were compleatly surprized and drove in great disorder for a long time & for a considerable distance at every point of attack. Had it not been for the extreme foggi-

ness of the day which prevented our several Columns discovering each other's movements and from improving the advantages which they separately gained, in all probability the day would have been a most fortunate one—But owing to that circumstance they got confused and retreated at a moment when there was every appearance of victory in our favor The Enemy lost some valuable officers, among the slain Genl. Agnew & it is said another Genl. officer was dangerously wounded. We were not without on our part Brigadr Nash was wounded by a Cannon Ball & is since dead—We had also several other officers of inferior rank wounded & some killed —This crude, undigested account I dont mean for publication—I hope all will yet end well.

To Governor Clinton

XXXIV

Communicated by Joseph J. Cooke

White Marsh, Decr 2d, 1777

Dear Sir

If you can with any convenience let me see you today I shall be thankful for it—I am abt fixing the Winter Cantonments of this Army and find so many & capitol objections to each mode proposed, that I am exceedingly embarrassed, not only by the advice given me, but in my own judgment, and should be very glad of your sentiments on the matter without loss of time.—In hopes of seeing you, I shall only add that from Reading to Lancaster Inclusively is the general Sentiment, whilst Welmingtod and its vicinity, has powerful advocates—this however is mentioned under the rose—for I am convinced in my own opinion, that if the enemy believed we had this place in contemplation they would possess themselves of it immediately.—I am very sincerely

Dr Sir Yr affecty

Go. Washington

[Colonel Joseph Reed]

XXXV

Communicated by S. H. Shreve

[Dec 1777]

To the Officers and Soldiers of the Militia in the Counties of Hunterdon, Burlington, Gloucester, Salem and Cumberland.

Friends and Fellow Soldiers: The enemy have thrown considerable force into your State with intent to possess themselves of the post at Red Bank and after clearing the obstructions in the Delaware make incursions into your country—To prevent them from effecting either of these purposes I have sent over such a number of Continental Troops as I trust will, with the spirited operations of the militia totally defeat their designs and oblige them to return to the City and suburbs of Philadelphia which is the only ground they possess on the Pennsylvania Shore, in which they cannot subsist cut off from the supplies of the plentiful State of New Jersey. I therefore call upon you, by all that you hold dear to rise up as one man and rid your country of its unjust invaders. To convince you that is to be done by a general appearance of all its freemen armed and ready to give their opposition, I need only to put you in mind of the effect it had upon the British Army in June last who laid aside their intention of marching through the upper part of your State upon seeing the hostile manner in which

you were prepared to receive them. Look also at the glorious effects which followed the spirit of the union which appeared among our brethren of New York and New England, who, by the brave assistance they afforded the Continental Army obliged a royal one, flushed with their former victories to sue for terms and lay down their arms in the most submissive manner. Reflect upon these things and I am convinced that every man who can bear a musket will take it up and without respect to time or place give his services in the field for a few weeks, perhaps only a few days.

I am your sincere friend and countryman

G. WASHINGTON

XXXVI

Communicated by John Davies

Valley Forge 30th Decr. 1777

My Lord,

The bearer presents the horse to you which I offered in exchange for your black— In the Summer when I first got him, he had the appearance of a fine, and handsome horse—at present (by neglect at Bethleham) his appearance is altered. He was purchased for me by Col. Moylan as a horse of Six yrs old, & I believe him to be sound, knowing nothing to the contrary. — he goes rough equal I believe to your black, and has no bad qualities that I know of; however, as I have no oppertunity of sending the black to my home at present, your Lordship may try the other, & judge from the experiment of the eligibility of the swap— In the mean time yours may, or may not, as you choose it, stand in my stable; as I design him for no other purpose than a stud horse for the use of my Mares in Virg,a.

I am with sincere esteem & affecte

Yr Lordships most ob,t

Go. WASHINGTON

[Major General Lord Stirling]

XXXVII

Communicated by Edward E. Sprague

Valley Forge Jany 7th 1778

Dear Sir

Learning that the Captured Brig contains a great qty & variety, of officers baggage; and necessaries proper for them; many articles of which from the length of time I have been in the service & difficulty of procuring them at first, I stand much in need of—I shall be obliged to you for sending me, if to be had, the things contained in the Inclosed memm I will pay the appraised value, or come in as a common purchaser at a public auction as shall be thought best. With sincere esteem and regard I am

Dr Sir Yrs Most obedt Servt

Go. WASHINGTON

P. S.

I shall refer you to another Letter of mine written since the above,—but still wish for the articles in the Inclosed List.

To Brigr Genl. Smallwood,
at Go. Washington, Wilmington

XXXVIII

Communicated by S. H. Shreve

Head Quarters Valley Forge
14th April 1778

Sir: I received yours of the 10th inst inclosing the proceedings of a Court-

Martial against William Seeds and Samuel Carter. I confirm the sentence of the former, and desire that he may be executed at such time and place as you may think most proper. I cannot confirm the sentence against Carter until I have consulted Gov. Livingstone upon the matter. Introducing martial-law into this State was intended to remedy the weaknesses of the civil; but in New Jersey where there is a law founded expressly for the purpose of trying inhabitants taking arms on the side of the enemy, I think that such persons should be delivered to the civil power. When I have Governor's determination upon this matter you shall hear from me— In the meantime secure the prisoner—

I am Sir, your most obed Servant

G. WASHINGTON

Col [Israel] Shreve

XXXIX

Communicated by Thomas Addis Emmet

14 July 1778

MEMORANDUM

Colo Laurens will suggest to his Excellency Count de Estaign the advantages which would more than probably, result from a French ship of (sufficient) force getting into the sound, as far up as lyons tongue or somewhere thereabouts. A measure of this kind would clear that channel of the British armed Vessels wch now infest it, and cover the passage and landing of a party of men wch might be sent to long Island for the purposes of removing the cattle out of the way of the Enemy, destroying their Horses &ca and would afford supplies of Fresh provisions to the Fleet, Vegetables and other comforts.

The Vessels belonging to the Harbours of Connecticut would presently take of the fat cattle and other stock if the British cruisers were driven from the Communication between the Island and the Main.

How far the enterprize upon Rhode Island is compatible with a watch of the Fleet in the harbour of New York, is wholly submitted to the Admirals superior judgment— But, as an Imbarkation of the Army at that place cannot happen without notice being had of it, nor an evacuation of the harbour after it is begun in less than 48 hours, I would take the liberty of recalling the subject to his consideration as the destruction of the Fleet after it had passed the hook might be the consequence of the attempt.—

The enterprize upon Rhode Island might be followed by an attempt upon Hallifax; which if fortunate would be a deadly stroke to G. Britain as it is the only Dock on the Continent in which ships of large force can Career, and moreover abounds in Naval & Military stores of all kinds.

GO. WASHINGTON

Memorandum from Gen Washington to J. L. on military matters

East Channel	2 Galleys 1 Sml Frigate
W Chl	2 Sm Frigates
Main Chl	2 Frigates
at Newport	3 Galleys 2 or 3 Frigates

Ld forces, 7000

25th 20 gun sloop of war, passed pt Judith standing for Newport.

XL

Communicated by Joseph W. Drexel

White plains July 22d 1778.

Sir

The Marquiss de la Fayette will command under the orders of Major General Sullivan, the detachment from this army consisting of Glover & Varnums Brigades, and the detachment under the care of Colonel Henry Jackson—You are, consequently, to obey his orders

I am Sir Yr most obt Servt

Go. Washington

To Colonel Henry Jackson

XLI

Communicated by Joseph W. Drexel

Head Quarters, White Plains

Augt 12, 1778

Sir,

I have just received a second letter dated the 10th, from General Maxwell, confirming the intelligence of the departure of the British fleet, from the Hook, which it may not be useless or unsatisfactory for you to know—an extract from which I do myself the honor to enclose. The State of the winds for two or three days past, makes me hope, this communication may not arrive too late. With the most ardent wishes for your success and the sincerest respect

I have the honour to be Sir

Your most obdt Servt

Go. Washington

His Excellency

Count D'Estain Vice Admiral &c &c

XLII

Communicated by T. Bailey Myers

Head Quarters 4th October 1778

My Lord

It is now three days since I have received any intelligence from your Lordship. This makes me the more uneasy as my movements depend altogether upon the indications of those of the enemy. It is of so much importance to me to be regularly informed that I must request that you will send expresses daily, acquainting me precisely with the enemys position, and communicating such intelligence as you may collect from spies deserters &c. It is often a satisfaction to know that nothing new has happened, although it may not appear very interesting to make a report of it and your Lordship will at any rate be able to compensate the dearth of events by favoring me with your conjectures.

I am with great regard

Your Lordships most obdt Servt

Go. Washington

Major General Lord Stirling

P. S. I open this letter to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordships favour of yesterday. I have also received two New York papers transmitted me by Mr Livingston at your desire. I have nothing to add but my thanks for the intelligence you communicate. Major Washington with Moylan's Regt is on his way to join your Lordship.

XLIII

Communicated by Joseph W. Drexel

Head Quarters

Frederick bg 25 October 1778

My Lord

The intelligence communicated in yours of yesterday is confirmed by a Gentleman who has been into New York with a flag and is just returned.

The mistake into which we have been led, as to the embarkation and sailing of

those transports which actually have the troops on board, has somewhat deranged us. Lest the enemy should take any advantage, be pleased to order Woodfords Brigade to move immediately towards the Clove, and to take post in such a situation as to be able to occupy it should they move up the River. Instead of sending the parties to repair the Roads from Maxwells and Woodfords Brigades, they may, now, both go from Woodfords, which will lay in a conveniant situation for that purpose.

Should the enemy, contrary to our expectation, move up the River, you will take such measures to cooperate with us as shall seem to your Lordship most advisable.

I will in my next give you an answer respecting Colo Burr.

I am with great Regard

Your Lordship's Most obt Servt

Go. Washington

Maj Gen Lord Stirling

XLIV

Communicated by John Austin Stevens

Head Quarters Dec 17, 1778

Sir,

I have the pleasure to transmit you the inclosed Commission and the copy of a Resolution of Congress that accompanies it—I received the Letter which inclosed the Commission on my way from Fredericksburg; but being separated from my papers just after it came to hand—and not getting the Letter again till a day or two ago, I have been prevented from sending the Commission till now.

In consequence of your Commission and the Resolution of Congress—you are to join Colonel Lambs Regiment and fill the vacancy, occasioned by the resignation of Lt Colo Oswald.

I am Sir with esteem

your most obed Servt

Go. Washington

Lieut Colonel Ebenezer Stevens

XLV

Communicated by John Davies

[Head Quarters 21 Dec 1778]

Sir,

Congress having been pleased to require my attendance at Philadelphia for a few days the immediate command of the Troops at this place will devolve upon your Lordship.

The hutting the Troops in the most speedy and commodious manner, and the preservation of order and discipline, I doubt not will receive your Lordships particular attention—I must request that you will as much as possible avoid granting furloughs to officers, except in the manner and proportion heretofore specified in General orders, and will not deviate but where the circumstances of the case are of a very peculiar and pressing nature.—The frequency of applications on this head induces me to particularize the caution.

Your Lordship will give me the earliest intelligence of any thing of consequence that may happen.

Given at Head Quarters

this the 21st Day of Decr 1778

Go. Washington

[Major Genl Lord Stirling]

XLVI

Communicated by Joseph J. Cooke

Head Quarters 3d March—79

Sir.

The President of Congress has trans-

mitted me the instructions of the Assembly of your state to their delegates, founded on a representation of the distresses of your western frontiers—and further the opinion of a Committee of the House on the subject of their defence—together with the two Resolves made in consequence.

I am therefore to inform your Excellency that offensive operations against the hostile tribes of Indians have been meditated and determined upon—that preparations have some time since been making for that purpose—and will be carried into execution at a proper season if no unexpected event takes place, and the situation of affairs on the Seaboard will justify the undertaking—But the profoundest secrecy was judged necessary to the success of such an enterprise for the following reasons—That immediately upon the discovery of our design the Savages would either put themselves in condition to make head against us, by a reunion of all their force and that of their allies, strengthened besides by succours from Canada —or elude the expedition altogether—which might be done at the expence only of a temporary evacuation of forests which we could not possess—and the destruction of a few settlements, which they might speedily re-establish—

Tho' this matter is less under the veil of secrecy than was originally intended —your Excellency will see the propriety of using such precautions as still remain in our power—to prevent its being divulgated—and of covering such preparations as might tend to announce it—with the most specious disguise that the enemys attention may not be awakened to our real object.

With respect to the force to be employed on this occasion— it is scarcely necessary to observe that the detaching a considerable number of continental troops on such a remote expedition would too much expose the country adjacent to the body of the enemys Army.

There must therefore be efficacious assistance derived from the States whose frontiers are obnoxious to the inroads of the barbarians—and for this I intended at the proper time to make application — Your Excellency will be pleased to acquaint me what force yours in particular can furnish in addition to the five Companies voted by Congress—and when you think those Companies or the major part of them will probably be raised— What proportion of the levies of your State might be drawn from those inhabitants who have been driven from the frontier—And what previons measures can be taken to engage them without given them an alarm—This Class of people besides the advantages of knowledge of the Country, and the particular motives with which they will be animated—are most likely to furnish the troops best calculated for this service—which should be Corps of active Rangers, who are at the same time expert marksmen and accustomed to the irregular kind of wood-fighting practiced by the Indians. Men of this description embodied under proper officers would be infinitely preferable to a superior number of Militia unacquainted with this species of war—and who would exhaust the magazines of Ammunition

and Provision — without rendering any effectual service—

It will be a very necessary attention to avoid the danger of short inlistments —the service should be limited only by the expedition or a term amply competent to it—otherwise we shall be exposed to the evident ill-consequences of having the mens engagements expire at an interesting, perhaps a critical juncture—

I have the honor to be with great respect

Sir Yr most Obedt and
most Hble Servt
Go. Washington

His Excellency President Reed

XLVII

Communicated by C. W. Frederickson

Middlebrook March 20th 1779

Dear Sir

I have received your favour of the 14th Inst by Colo Morgan, and have had a good deal of conversation with him respecting our affairs to the Westward.

I wish matters had been more prosperously conducted under the command of Genl McIntosh. This Gentlemn was in a manner a stranger to me, but during the time of his residence at Valley forge I had imbibed a good opinion of his good sense—attention to duty, and disposition to correct public abuses, qualifications much to be valued in a separate & distant command.

To these considerations were added (and not the least) his disinterested concern with respect to the disputes which had divided & distracted the Inhabitants of that Western world—and which would have rendered an officer from either Pensa or Virga improper, while none could be spared from any other State with so much convenience as McIntosh.

He is now coming away, and the second in command, Brodhead (as there will be no military operation of consequence to be conducted) will succeed him—but, once for all, it may not be amiss for me to conclude with this observation—That, with such means as are provided, I must *labour*.

I am Dr Sir Yr most obedt Servt
Go. Washington

XLVIII

Communicated by J. C. McGuire

Head Quarters 23d March 1779.

Dear Sir

For the more speedy assembling of the Militia upon an emergency, I have agreed with the Field Officers in this and the next County to erect Beacons upon the most conspicuous Hills, the firing of which shall be Signals for them to repair to their different Alarm Posts— You will be pleased to have one erected upon the Mountain in the Rear of Pluckemin, upon the place that shall seem most visible from the adjacent Country. The Beacons are proposed to be built of Logs in the form of a Pyramid; 16 or 18 feet square at the Base, and about 20 feet in height, the inner part to be filled with Brush— Should there be occasion to fire it you shall have proper notice— Be pleased to send me one of the Copies of the last arrangement of the ordnance department—

I am Dear Sir Your Obt Servt,
G. Washington

Brig Genl Knox

P. S. As the inclosed Resolve of Congress includes the Artillery I have transmitted to you and request you to order Returns to be made agreeable thereto.

XLIX

Communicated by Joseph J. Cooke

Middle brook March 29th 1779

Dear Sir

Since mine of yesterday, I have received the inclosed extract of a Letter from General Maxwell at Elizabeth Town, which I send lest the suggestion contained in my letter may have made a deeper impression than I intended; which was no more than to hint at the advantages which might result from a systematical plan of assembling the Militia at certain points, on any sudden exigency & with more expedition & less expence than it could be effected in the ordinary course of proceeding— Such a measure would, I am certain, be eligable in one point of view, but how far it can be planned without giving an alarm to our friends, and setting the numerous speculators and stock jobbers to work, you can judge better of than I.

I am with great esteem and regard

Dr Sir Yr Most Obedt Servt

Go. Washington

His Excellency Jos Reed Esq

Presidt Pensa

L

Communicated by Joseph J. Cooke

Middle brook April 8th 1779

Dear Sir,

Your favor without a date, acknowledging the receipt of my letters of the 28th, & 9th ulto came to hand a day or two ago.

Colo Patterson (as he is called) was a stranger even in name to me, till he came here introduced by Colo Cox as a person capable of giving the best information of the Indian Country between the Susquehannah and Niagara of any man that was to be met with; and as one who had it more in his power than any other to obtain such intelligence of the situation, numbers and designs of the enemy in these regions as I wanted to enable me to form the Expetion against them— In this light, & as the Bror in law of Genl Potter who is known to be a zealous friend to America, I viewed & imployed Colo Patterson for the above purposes; concealing as much as the nature of the case would admit my real design.— If I have been deceived in the Man Colo Cox is the author of the deception and is highly culpable, because he represented him to me as a person he was well acquainted with.— The Troops from Minisink were to begin their March for Wioming last Monday— The bad weather all the Month of March and an accident to one of my Letters to Genl Hand occasioned a delay of some days. Orders also went (before the receipt of your Letter) to Genl McDougall to put the remains of Pattens & Malcolms Regiments in motion for the same quarter—and the Board of War, some time since, has been applied to for a relief to Rawling's Corps that it might reinforce Brodhead for the purpose mentioned to you when at Camp, but what they have done in the matter is unknown to me— I shall be very glad to know from time to time what progress is made in compleating the five independent Companies; and let me

beseech you my dear Sir while I am upon the subject of recruiting to give the most pointed orders to those who are engaged in this Service, for your Battalions, to take no Deserters.— They weaken instead of strengthen the Regiments and not only rob the public of the bounty money, arms, accoutrements and cloaths which they receive, but poison the minds of other Soldiers and carry many away with them to the enemy— In Genl Potter's letter (now returned) the propriety of offering Land as an encouragement to Men to enlist in the above Companies, is suggested for your consideration— I have long been of opinion founded in observation that if the State bounties are continually increased for every short & temperary Service & enlistment, that the price of Men another year will be far above our purchase; & a final end will be put to recruiting—the consequences of which, under present appearances, are well worthy of consideration.

To hear that all party disputes had subsided, & that harmony (not only between Congress & the States, but between the discordant parts of the State) was restored, wd give me very singular pleasure— If party matters were at an end, & some happy expedient hit upon to check the further depreciation of our money, we should soon be left to the enjoyment of that Peace and happiness which every good man must wish for & none but the viciated & abandoned tribe of speculators &c would be injured by—

If propositions have not been made to Congress of the Court of G. Britain for negotiating a Peace on the terms which have been held out to the Commissioners upon what ground is the resolutions you speak of founded?— They surely do not mean to be the movers of a Negotiation, before they know the terms that will be offered, or which can certainly be obtained?— In a word the whole matter (to me) is a mistery.—

I am with sincerity & truth
Dr Sir Yr Most Obedt &c
Go. Washington

[President Joseph Reed]

April 9th

P. S. Since writing the foregoing I have spoke to Genl Green concerning Patterson— He says that Cox is not, nor was not unacquainted with the suspicions harboured of him — that in ye early part of the War he got disgusted by some disappointment, withdrew from Public Service—& has conducted himself in such a manner as to be suspected of favouring the back Settlers who have joined the Enemy—but nevertheless he will answer for his fidelity & the due performance of what he has undertaken if impediments are not thrown in his way.—

I have accts of the Marching of Pattens & Malcolms Regiments—& that the Troops from Minisink will be at Wioming this night if no accident happens to them.

Yr &c G. W——n

LI

Communicated by J. C. McGuire

Head Quarters 12th April 1779

Dear Sir

Inclosed you have the last General Return of Ordnance and Military Stores which I have received from the Board of War, of which you will take a Copy.

There appears to me a very great deficiency of many articles, particularly of Small Arms, powder and Lead. But you will be pleased to examine it critically and report to me what are, in your opinion, wanting, that I may, without loss of time, lay the estimate before the Board of War.

As you must be Sensible of the necessity of keeping a Return of so disagreeable a complexion as much a Secret as possible, be pleased to drop a hint of this kind to the person who copies it—

I am Dear Sir
Your Most Obdt Servt
G. WASHINGTON

Brig Genl Knox

LII

Communicated by Joseph J. Cooke

Head Quarters Middle Brook,
19th April 1779

Dear Sir

I have been honored with yours of the 14th instant. I shall not fail to recommend to the Officer, who will command on the Susquehannah, the cultivation of a good understanding between the Settlers at Wyoming and the inhabitants of Northumberland County.

Upon estimating the Force necessary to be employed upon the intended Expedition, so as to give the most probable assurance of success, I find that it will require more troops than can possible be spared from the Continental Army, without weakening our main Body to that degree, that it will be ever liable to be insulted, if not materially injured by the Enemy should they move out—I am therefore under the necessity of making application to the State of Pennsylvania for the aid of Six hundred Militia including the companies of Rangers, to continue in service three Months from the 1st of June, if the Laws or any power vested in the Executive Council will authorize the calling them out for so long a time they must come provided with Arms, as from the exhausted State of the Continental Magazines they cannot be supplied from thence. You will oblige me by letting me know as early as possible whether this demand can be complied with fully in point of term of Service, and if not, for the longest time that the Men may be depended upon. They are to rendezvous at Sunbury by the 10th of May. I imagine the Western Militia will be called out upon this Service. They are infinitely to be preferred on many accounts, but particularly from their being used to the Indian mode of War, which is apt to make very fatal impressions upon men not acquainted with that kind of Enemy.

I would not presume to nominate the Officer who should take command of this Body of Men: but I hope I shall stand excused, when I mention Brig: General Potter. From my knowledge of his abilities, and his acquaintance with the kind of service upon which these Men are to be employed, I should be very happy should the State think proper to confer the command upon him.

Upon the several hints given to me of the suspicions of Patterson's character, I have taken measures to prevent him from being mischeivous should he be so inclined, and I have desired that Colo Cox may give him a caution against

making a needless parade of the employ which he is in. He has nothing to do with the Quarter Masters department.

If I may be allowed to form any judgment from the actual Returns and Reports of the Commissaries, of the quantity of Flour [*manuscript destroyed*] that of Virginia.

I have the honor to be
with the greatest Regard
Yr Excellency's
Most obt Serv

Gov. Reed — Go. WASHINGTON

P. S. By a letter which I have received from General McIntosh dated at Fort Pitt the 3d instant, I have the pleasure to find that he had returned to that place, after having relieved Fort Laurens and thrown a proper supply of provisions into it. He adds that he had found some of the Indian Tribes more friendly than he had expected.

A cooperation of the troops at Fort Pitt and in that quarter not being deemed either very practicable or of much use, the Force, at present there, will remain. This I hope, with the assistance of the Militia, should there be occasion, will cover your Western Frontier and in the Middle department, I should suppose that the Army must be much destressed for the Article of Bread, should such an exportation, as I imagine the State of Massachusetts will require, be allowed. If the quantity wanted to the Eastward is ascertained, the Commissary General can better determine whether any or what part of it can be spared without injury to the Service.

LIII

Communicated by J. C. McGuire

Head Quarters Middlebrook
4th May 1779

Dr Sir

I enclose you a return which I received a few days ago from General Parsons—of arms and accoutrements, wanted for the troops at Reading.

I wish you to take the most immediate measures on this occasion in your department, to have them, and all the deficiencies, in the troops stationed on the other side of the North River supplied from Springfield; having respect at the same time to the Supplies which may be necessary for the other parts of the Army and proportioning the distribution accordingly.

I am Sir Your Most Obdt
and hble Servt
G. WASHINGTON

Brig Genl Knox

LIV

Communicated by Thomas Addis Emmet

Middlebrook May 12th 1779

Dr Sir

The Inclosed letters respecting the rank of officers in Procters Regiment; & Colo Fleming's pretensions, are this moment come to hand— I wish you to consider them attentively, and give me your sentiments in writing, fully, upon every matter & thing contained in them. — The amusements of Phila have such preferable claims to the dangers and hardships of the field, that I shall not be surprized at finding a thousand difficulties innumerated by the above corps to prevent their Marching— I wish therefore as far as is consistent with the

rights of others, that every obstacle may be removed and complaints done away.

The letter to the Council of the Massachusetts bay is under a flying Seal for your perusal— Please to take the necessary and most speedy measure to bring on the Cannon therein required to the Posts in the Highlands.

I am Dr Sir Yr most Obedt Sevt

Genl Knox Go. WASHINGTON

LV

Communicated by Joseph J. Cooke

Head Quarters Middle Brook,
May 20th 1779

Gentlemen,

A few days since I was honored with your favour of the 8th instant.

It is my constant endeavour to cultivate the confidence of the governments of the several states by an equal and uniform attention to their respective interests, so far as falls within the line of my duty and the compass of the means with which I am entrusted. With a consciousness of this, it is natural that my sensibility should be affected even by the appearance of distrust. The assurances of the Council that I have misconceived their former letters afford me pleasure proportioned to the pain which that misconception occasioned. I shall not at present trouble them with any remarks on the subject discussed in their last, respecting the degree of protection which each state has a right to expect. I shall only beg leave to assure them, that I do full justice to the exertions of the State of Pennsylvania, and to express my hope that if circumstances will permit the execution of the immediate and ultimate projects of the campaign, effectual relief will be given to our frontier in general. This is a favorite object with me, and nothing but necessity or more decisive prospects elsewhere will divert me from it.

If the independent companies raising amount to the number the Council mention, they will answer my expectation of succour from the state, and will make it unnecessary to call out immediately a body of militia. I shall only request that measures may be taken to have them as speedily as possibly at the place of rendezvous, Sunbury or Wyoming, where they will receive orders from General Sullivan who commands the expedition.

I am happy to find that General Arnold's trial is now put upon a satisfactory footing; and I regret that any misapprehension has happened— I shall endeavour to have the affair conducted [in its] future progress with unexceptionable propriety. The period now fixed for entering upon it relieves me from much embarrassment.

I beg the Council to accept my warmest thanks for the favourable sentiments of my conduct which they do me the honor in this new instance, to express— and I entreat them to be assured of the perfect respect and esteem with which I am

Gentlemen Your most
obed humble Servant
Go. WASHINGTON

[Council of State of Pennsylvania]

P. S. To prevent any mistake I beg leave to repeat, that if there are any persons to be summoned as witnesses that fall within my province, I shall be obliged to The Council for a communication of their names.

LVI

Communicated by J. C. McGuire

Head Quarters Middlebrook
27th May 1779

Dr Sir

I herewith transmit you an extract of a letter from the board of War of the 24th inst by which you will perceive, that the factory at Philadelpha turns out 60 or 70 cartridge boxes per day; and that the Armory is in a situation to enter upon the repairs of arms— You will be pleased to have the old cartridge boxes now in Store, and those returned on the distribution of new ones sent forward to Philadelphia for the purpose which the board mentions and such arms as want repairs to the Armory, agreeable to the recommendation of the board.

Brigadier Gen : Clinton writes me the 13th that "the ammunition I applied for at Fishkill by virtue of Gen Knox's order could not be all procured, the small quantity which could be spared is on the way up. I am informed by letters from Col Chevers that it is not to be had at Springfield, but that he had sent to Boston for it, I have put an express to hasten it up, tho I am afraid it will not arrive in time." I have given you this extract, that you may take the proper steps to have a proper supply at fishkill or its vicinity to answer any exigencies that may arise in this quarter

I am D Sir Your Most hble Servt
G. WASHINGTON

Brig Gen. Knox

P. S. It is not my intention that you should send all the arms out of repair; but retain what you think our camp armorers may be able to repair—Nor all the cartridge boxes. I wish to have a proportion of both for any occasional demand. In executing the order you will have reference to this restriction.
G. WASHINGTON

LVII

Communicated by J. C. McGuire

Head Quarters Middle Brook
28th May 1779

Sir

The knowledge you have of the general situation of the enemy makes it unnecessary I should enter into any further detail than barely to inform you—

That their number at New York, Staten and Long Island—Supposing the detachment which went to Virginia to consist of 2,000 men agreeable to the accounts I have received—amounts according to the best estimate I have been able to form to about 9,000 men—At Rhode Island their strength is about 5 or 6,000. Their remaining force in these States is in Georgia and Virginia—In addition to these, their whole influence is exerted to Stimulate the Indians from one end of the Western frontier to the other against us, and reinforcements are expected from Europe. But what may be their precise destination or amount is uncertain—The current of intelligence points to New York and at least 5,000 men.

Our own force and present disposition are pretty well known to you, but to give you a more exact idea, I shall observe, that, beside the Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia troops now in this Camp and the North Carolina troops at Paramus, there are three Brigades of Massachusetts troops and one of Connecti-

cut on the North River—one of the latter at Danbury and about 2,500 Continental troops at Rhode Island. You will be able to form a sufficiently accurate judgment of the collective strength of these Corps; but if you should wish for more precise information, you can obtain it by applying to me. The rest of our force except about 600 or 700 on the Ohio will be imployed to the westward against the Indians.

I can say scarcely anything of the reinforcements we have reason to expect—The measures persuing by the several States to augment their battalions and the success with which they are attended have as yet come but partially to my knowledge—I fear our prospects are very inconsiderable.

Under this concise account of matters and taking a comprehensive view of our affairs in general—particularly the State of our supplies and the depreciation of our currency—I am to request you will favor me with your opinion of the plan of conduct which it will be proper for us to pursue at this juncture for the advancement of the common cause and for the honor and interest of the American Arms, in doing which, I shall be obliged by a very free and full communication of your sentiments.

I am Sir Your Most Obt Servt
G. WASHINGTON

Brigadier Genl. Knox

LVIII

Communicated by J. C. McGuire

Middlebrook May 30, 1779

Sir,

The situation of our affairs and the general prospects of the campaign require that the army should divest itself of every article that can be spared and take the field as light as possible—I am therefore of opinion, that not more than two light field-pieces ought to be attached to each Brigade and that the Park should be composed of a few pieces of the same sort. You will be pleased after reserving a sufficient number for these purposes to send all the overplus to some convenient place from which they may without difficulty be drawn, if a particular occasion should call for them, Easton perhaps may answer.

Given at Head Quarters
Middle-Brook May 30th 1779
G. WASHINGTON

Brigadier General Knox

LIX

Communicated by J. C. McGuire

Head Quarters Morris-Town
June 4th 1779

Sir,

By a letter this moment arrived from General McDougall dated two o'clock yesterday, the enemy were advancing in force towards The Continental Village. The other part of their Army on the West side were to move the same day to invest the Ford, on reconsideration, as some heavy cannon in our future operations may become effective, if you can possible procure a sufficiency of horses to carry those at the Park with convenience and dispatch, I wish them to join the Army without delay—A careful officer will no doubt accompany them to avoid accidents on the route—

I am Dr Sir Yr Most Obdt Servt
General Knox G. WASHINGTON

The moment you can be spared I will see you in front of West Point.

LX

Communicated by J. C. McGuire

Morristown 4th June 1779

Dr Sir,

On the 2nd instant a party of the enemy possessed themselves of the fort on Vir-planks point, by capitulation—they are now throwing up some works on the point on this Side—It would appear from a number of circumstances that they mean to press their operations against the posts on the Highlands.

The Militia are calling out for ammunition, and the supply for the army as you know, is far from being sufficient. I would therefore wish you to send on careful and active conductors to hasten forward to the army, a competent supply, from the nearest magazines.

I am D Sir your most hble Servt,

G. WASHINGTON

Brig Genl Knox

LXI

Communicated by J. C. McGuire

Head Quarters Smiths Clove

June 1779

In Case of an Attempt on West Point.

The alarm Guns or other Signals for calling in the Militia Suddenly are to be fired or given the instant the Enemy's designs are discovered.

The garrison is to attend principally to the defence of the Post, at the same time they are to spare all the men they can with safety to that object to harrass and dispute with the Enemy every inch of ground leading to the works or to the heights above them.

The divisions on this ground are to move by different routes to the Furnace of Deane—Lord Stirling's will take the road from June's Tavern—Baron de Kalb the road which goes off at Earl's Mill, and General St. Clair's will make use of the one at the widow Van Ambroe's ;—A Battalion from the right division is to move on the road leading from June's Tavern towards Haverstraw to prevent our right being turned undiscovered.—

The remainder of that division is to endeavor to gain the Enemy's left flank or rear if they should move on the road from King's Ferry directly to the Furnace, by Doodlestown to the same place or from Fort Montgomery thither.—

General St Clair in either of these cases is to attempt gaining the enemy's right flank.

Baron de Kalb under these circumstances is to appose them in front.—

If on the other hand the enemy should rely more upon water transportation, sending a part only of their force from Fort Montgomery by land along the river road, in that case Lord Stirling will endeavor to fall upon their rear, Baron de Kalb upon their left flank, while General St. Clair opposes them in front endeavoring to prevent them from taking possession of the heights back of our works on Stony hill & Fort Putnam—

Each division is to take especial care that they are not out flanked, and for this and other valuable purposes are to keep as extended a line, & their troops in as open order as they possible can to be under proper command :

Each division is to keep a reserve for the purpose of giving Support, or in case of necessity to cover a retreat.—

It is expected that the troops will

advance boldly upon the enemy and by no means and under no pretence whatever throw away their ammunition at long shot. A musket had better never be discharged than fired in so wasteful shameful and cowardly a manner

As the country is covered with wood is close and much broken it will be necessary for the Major General to fix upon certain beats or signals for advancing in the whole or part, retreating &c

In case individuals or parties should get separated from the main body: to prevent which every possible care should be taken, Smith's Tavern (present Head Quarters) is to be the first place of rendezvous, and Chester the second, if circumstances should so require.—

Go. Washington

To Major General Knox

LXII

Communicated by Thomas Addis Emmet

Head Quarters Smith's Clove

June 13th 1779

Sir

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your favor of the 11th and to return you my thanks for the news Papers which it inclosed

I am sorry you have not had it in your power to make any diversion in that quarter, so as to alarm or attract the attention of the enemy, nor indeed do I know the means that can be used at present to produce such an effect, unless the preparation of the flat bottomed boats, which are ordered on from Philadelphia on carriages will answer the end—The enemy will certainly hear of their arrival which will probable raise their suspicions. They will also serve another purpose, should our situation enable us to attempt anything serious on the Island

I am Sr Yr most obet Servant

Go. Washington

Col. John Neilson—

at Elizabethtown

P. S. You will be pleased to forward the inclosed—Mrs Delancy by whom it is written, expects a trunk from New York, when it arrives, I am to request your particular care of it.

G. W.

Col. Neilson

LXIII

Communicated by J. C. McGuire.

Head Quarters New Windsor

July 12th 1779

Dear Sir,

I perceive by the last returns, that there is still a number of men wanting arms— In addition to this I am informed we may shortly expect some new levies from Massachusetts and Connecticut particularly the latter. The men without Arms will be rather an incumberance than a benefit. I request that you will take every measure in your power to have a supply ready, For this purpose you will hasten to the Army all such as are any where under your direction; and will write in urgent terms to the Board of War for a further supply if to be had, I wish you to make this an object of particular attention, I shall be glad to hear how Mrs. Knox is— to whom I beg my respectfull compliments and best wishes for her health

I am Dear Sir Yr Most Obdt Servt

G. Washington

Brigadier Genl Knox

P. S. Since writing the above I have

received Information that the Massachusetts levies are Assembling at Springfield & may soon be expected on

G. W.

LXIV

Communicated by Frank Moore

Head Quarters, West Point
15th Augt 1779

Sir

In the letter which I had the honor of addressing your Excellency the 6th instant I promised a state of facts to shew that every thing in my power has been done to give success to the Western expedition. I am sorry to find in the appeal which General Sullivan has made to Congress that he has misstated several particulars of importance, and that in providing for his own justification in case of misfortune, he has left the matter upon such a footing as to place me in a delicate situation. In justice to myself I beg leave to make a few remarks on the different parts of his letter.

He says in the first place "that the Plan for carrying on the expedition was not agreeable to his mind, nor were the number of Men for it sufficient in his opinion to insure success.

The Plan he proposed was to have two Bodies, each superior to the whole force of the Enemy to operate both on the Mohawk River, and by way of the Susquehanna.— This Plan might have been desirable if the number of our troops, the state of our finances, and of supplies had permitted its execution, but it was impracticable on all these accounts. The force actually detached left the Army so weak that I am persuaded every officer of reflection in it, who knew our true circumstances was uneasy for the consequences; and if a larger force had gone, we should have been absolutely at the discretion of the Enemy. This will immediately appear from a recurrence to the Returns of the Army at that time. Should we have endeavoured to make up the deficiency from the Militia, our experience of the success of the applications which were made will convince us that the attempt would have been fruitless; to say nothing of the injury to Agriculture which would have resulted from calling out so large a Body of Militia. But if the Men could have been procured we should have failed in supplies. This is evident from what has happened. If we have met with so many difficulties, disappointments, and delays in providing for the *present force*, how would it have been possible to have provided for *double the number?*

But though, if our resources had permitted, it might have been *convenient* to have had two bodies, each superior to the Enemy's whole force to operate in different directions for the sake of dispatch, yet this does not appear to me on military principles to have been necessary to insure success: for, as the object was only the destruction of some Indian Settlements, all that could be requisite to its execution was to be able to march thro' them, and this purpose was assured if there was at one capital point a force sufficient to beat their collective force.

General Sullivan seemed to prefer the carrying on the principal operation by the Mohawk River. My reasons for preferring the other route are contained

in the letter No 3 to General Schuyler. General Schuyler was originally of the same opinion, as appears by his letters No. 1 and 2, but he changed it upon hearing the reasons in favor of the Plan which has been adopted, as he acknowledges in his letter No. 4; where he also suggests an additional motive, the want of Provisions. General Sullivan relinquishes the former Plan himself on this principle, nor did the deficiency arise from the want of previous dispositions, but from the difficulties in procuring supplies. It was my own idea at first, as will be seen by several letters herewith, to carry on the principal operation by the Mohawk, and directions were given very early to form Magazines for this purpose which it seems could not be executed. But if this obstacle had not existed, the reasons for penetrating by way of Susquehanna were then, and still are in my opinion, conclusive. The information on which the facts stated in my letter to General Schuyler were founded, is principally contained in the summary No. 16 Packet No. 7 the experiment hitherto hath confirmed its truth.

General Sullivan says that his letters to me produced no other effect than to change the route of Clinton's detachment. There are only four points on which his letters turn. One is the having two Bodies of superior force to the whole strength of the Enemy to operate different ways.— I have assigned reasons to shew that a compliance with this was impracticable and General Sullivan's own concession on the score of provisions is an admission of its impracticability.

Another is, the force necessary to compose the main body—this he estimates at three thousand—it will be seen by my letter No 3, Packet 1, that my opinion long before corresponded with his idea; and the calculations made at the time, of the Corps intended for the service, including the aid sollicited from Pennsylvania, induced me to believe General Sullivan's force would have amounted to about this number. The situation of our troops continually mouldering in a variety of ways—the disappointment in the expected reinforcement from Pennsylvania, and the unlooked for demands from a want of hands in the Quarter Masters department have occasioned his force to be considerably less than was intended, or could have been foreseen: That he has not been gratified in this respect was not for want of my wishes or endeavours, and is as great a disappointment to me as him. He acknowledges that more Continental Troops could not be spared —the Militia applied for were not furnished.

The next point is—a change in the route of the Troops under General Clinton. This he confesses happened as he desired: yet it would have been much against my judgment had his main Body been so large as it was intended to be. I fear too as matters have turned out, the most critical part of the expedition will be the junction of these two Corps. But it appears to me now from General Sullivan's representation that he could not avoid giving the order to Clinton to march with a full supply of Provisions.

The last point is—a change of the

Corps originally destined for the Expedition. In this also he was indulged. The precise Corps he requested are with him ; though I was not satisfied of the validity of his reason for desiring a change, as I believe very few more of the troops now with him have been accustomed to the Indian mode of fighting than of those who were first intended. I had two motives for fixing on the Pennsylvania troops—one was, that I should have been happy an officer of General St. Clair's abilities had been second in command to take direction of in case of accidents to the first— General Sullivan by his change reduced his numbers four hundred Men, which could not be replaced without breaking in upon other Corps.

On that part of General Sullivan's letter which related to the Quarter Master and Commissaries department I shall only observe that there have no doubt been very great delays—whether these have proceeded in part from a want of execution, or wholly from the inavoidable impediments which the unhappy state of our Currency opposes at every step, I have not sufficient information to determine ; but from the approved capacity, attention, & assiduity with which the operations of these departments are conducted, I am inclined to make every allowance and to impute our disappointments to the embarrassments of the times, and not to neglect. General Sullivan's well known activity will not permit me to think he has not done every thing in his power to forward the preparations— but however the delays may have happened I flatter myself no part of the blame can fall upon me. The Papers contained in the Packet No 2 will shew that the necessary orders were given by me, and that I was encouraged to expect their timely accomplishment. Besides what is upon Record, my pressing and repeated entreaties were employed with the Quarter Master and Commissary General in personal conferences. My attention was so much directed to this Expedition that I suspended at a very critical period the necessary preparations for the main Army, to give the greater vigour and efficacy to these for that object.— To this effect were my instructions to the Quarter Master General when we had the strongest inducements to put ourselves in a moving posture.

General Sullivan in the next place says, "having been taught by repeated disappointments to be cautious, I early gave orders to General Clinton to supply his Troops with three months provisions, and wrote Governor Clinton for his assistance in April last— This has been done and they are supplied."

The idea here held up is really extraordinary—my letter to General Schuyler No 1 will shew that as early as the beginning of December Magazines were ordered to be formed in that Quarter for 10,000 men with a view to an expedition to Niagara— By the subsequent letters to him No 2 and 3 these were partly discontinued, and limited to the Plan of an Indian Expedition, the extent of which was to be governmed by his judgment of the force necessary. This being 3000 men, the preparations were of course for that number. Schenectady was afterwards made the depository by Genl Clinton, as appears by his

WASHINGTON'S HEAD QUARTERS

letter No 5—in answer to mine No 4. From the whole tenor of the correspondence on the subject, Congress will clearly perceive, that the Magazines which General Sullivan ascribes to his care and caution were formed in consequence of orders given several months before he was nominated to the command, which did not take place till the 6th of March, by letter; and that they would have been equal to the supply of 3000 men had not the resources of the Country fallen short.

General Sullivan states his force at 2312 rank & file, which by a variety of deductions he afterwards reduced to 938 which he holds up as his combating force.—I should be unwilling to overrate the means of any officer, or to create a greater responsibility than is just—but at the same time I think it a duty I owe to the public and myself to place a matter of this kind in a true point of light. If almost the whole of the 2300 men are not effectually serviceable in Action, it must be General Sullivan's own fault—nearly all the men he speaks of, as Pack Horsemen, Bat Horsemen &c. &c. may be to the full as useful as any others. The number he mentions is only necessary for the sake of dispatch on a march; in time of Action the Horses and Cattle may be committed to the care of a very few, and the rest may be at liberty to act as occasion requires. Should he even be attacked on a March those animals may be made a shelter, rather than an incumbrance—if the operations he is to be concerned in were the regular ones of the Field, his calculation would be better founded; but in the loose irregular War he is to carry on, it will naturally lead to error and misconception. General Sullivan makes no account of his Drummers and Fifers, and other appendages of an Army who do not compose the fighting part of it—I have too good an opinion of his judgment not to believe he would find very useful employment for them. These and the few Drivers and Pack horsemen whom he acknowledges to have, will be nearly, if not quite sufficient with a small guard to take care of his Horses and Cattle in time of Action. But as I before observed, his *real* force will be less than it ought to be, to put him out of the reach of contingencies; but I hope with prudent management it will still suffice. The estimate made by General Schuyler of the Enemy's force from every subsequent information was not too low; and it is to be hoped the want of Provisions will prevent its being exerted in a vigorous and formidable opposition. My chief solicitude is for General Clinton, if he effects the meditated junction there will in my opinion be nothing to fear afterwards. Notwithstanding what may be said of the expertness of Indians in the woods, I am strongly persuaded our Troops will always be an overmatch for them with equal numbers, except in case of surprise or ambuscade, which it is at our own option to avoid.

General Sullivan also makes the application to the State of Pennsylvania *a consequence of his letters.* My letter No. 1 to his Excellency the President will shew that this was a part of the Plan before General Sullivan was nominated to the Command; and my sub-

sequent letters will shew that I pressed a compliance in the strongest and most pointed manner.

He mentions among other things that "one third of his Men are without a Shirt to their backs."—The letters No. 1 to 5 Packet 5th will make it appear that I took every step in my power to afford a competent supply, and I have the greatest reason to believe that the Troops with him had more than a proportion to the general wants and supplies of the Army.

The Packet No. 6 contains my instructions from time to time to General Sullivan. No. 7 the intelligence received from first to last, and No. 8 sundry Papers relative to the Expedition which do not immediately affect the subjects of the present Letter, but all which may serve to shew that I have paid all the attention in my power to this important object, and made use of every precaution for its success. I hope the event may answer our wishes; but if it should not, my anxiety to stand justified in the opinion of Congress has induced me to give them the trouble of this lengthy communication—I most sincerely thank them for the opportunity they have afforded me of entering into this explanation by the transmission of General Sullivan's letter, and I shall be much obliged by a similar indulgence upon every occasion of the same sort.

I beg leave to conclude with one observation. It may possibly hereafter be said that the Expedition ought not to have been undertaken unless the means were fully adequate, or that the consequences of a defeat ought not to have been hazarded when they were found to be otherwise—The motives to the undertaking, besides the real importance of rescuing the Frontier from the Alarms, ravages, and distresses to which it was exposed and which in all probability would have redoubled this year,—were the increasing clamours of the Country, and the repeated applications of the States immediately concerned, supported by frequent references and indications of the pleasure of Congress —the combined force of these motives appeared to me to leave no alternative.

The means proposed to be employed were fully sufficient; the disappointments we have met with, such as could not have been foreseen as we have no right to expect—so far as the business did not depend on me I had the strongest assurances from those who were concerned, and who were to be supposed the proper Judges that my expectations would be fulfilled.

After such extensive preparations has been made—so much expence incurred, the attention and hopes of the Public the apprehensions of the Enemy excited—their force augmented—their resentments inflamed — to recede, and leave the frontier a prey to their depredations would be in every view impolitic, when there is still a good prospect of success. To avoid possible misfortunes we must in this case submit to many certain evils—of the most serious nature, too obvious to require enumeration.

I have the honor to be, with the highest respect and esteem,

Your Excellency's most obedt Servant

GEO. WASHINGTON

His Excellency John Jay Esquire

[President of Congress]

P. S. I inclose a return of General Sullivan's whole force from the last particular Returns to the Adjutant General. This is exclusive of the Party under Colonel Pawling (amounting to 300 Men) it will appear by this return that the Battalion officers are included in the number of Men present, with arms in their hands—this is done because General Sullivan applied for, and obtained an Order for this purpose, but I cannot undertake to say whether he got them or not.

LXV

Communicated by J. C. McGuire

West Point 20th Aug 1779

Sir

I have received the reports from Major General McDougal Brigadier Du Portail and yourself of this date on the subject of the batteries cannon and ammunition necessary for the defence of West Point.

The motive there suggested concurs with others to make me desire there should be a speedy and ample supply of powder at this post and in the vicinity—We cannot now undertake any operations however necessary, which may require a considerable expenditure of this article—from the present absolute scarcity of it—I am informed the arrival of a large quantity is momently expected. You will therefore please to write to the Board representing our situation and requesting in pressing terms, that in case of such arrival, no time may be lost in forwarding what you deem a competent supply, as well for offensive opperations against the enemy's posts should they become adviseable as for the defence of this—

You will at the same time have a sufficient number of cannon ball of proper sizes prepared for the same purpose that we may be at no loss on this account

I am with great esteem

Sir yr most obedt Ser vt

G. WASHINGTON

Brig Genl Knox

LXVI

Communicated by T. Bailey Myers

Head Quarters

West Point 31st Augt 1779

Sir

Congress were pleased to come to a resolution on the 21st instant of which the inclosed is a copy. You will perceive it is their sense that Major General Phillips should not be indulged with permission to send two officers into Canada as he has requested In obedience to this signify to him that I countermand the directions contained in my letter to you of the 27th of July. You will give notice to General Phillips that I took that step uninformed that the application was before Congress and I am sorry to find it does not correspond with their wishes

I am with great esteem

Your most obedt Servt

GO. WASHINGTON

Col Bland

LXVII

Communicated by J. C. McGuire

Head Quarters West Point

12th Nov. 1779

Dear Sir

From present appearances & the Season of the Year, there is little reason to believe, that a cooperation with the French Admiral, can possibly take place. In consequence of this opinion

and to avoid as much as possible a further increase of expence, I have to request you to suspend such of your arrangements as were designed for this purpose, and which, unless this event were to take place, will be unnecessary. I reckon among these, particularly, the Business on which Col. Stevens has been ordered. In your measures on this subject, which I wish to be immediate, although you stop the preparations, you will do it in such a manner as to preserve the Idea for which they were undertaken—I need not observe to you the expediency of preserving appearances till the determination of Congress is known, to whom I have written on the Subject—

I am Dear Sir
Sir Your Most Obdt. Servt
Genl Knox. G. WASHINGTON

General Greene desires that the person who goes to Col. Stevens may call upon him

LXVIII

Communicated by J. C. McGuire

Head Quarters,
Novemr 18th, 1779

Dr Sir

As the North Carolina Troops have orders to march immediately to the Southward, you will be pleased to direct the Company of Artillery belonging to that State to hold themselves in readiness to move with them— Their route will hereafter be made known— And with respect to their pieces you will suffer them to carry them or not, as you may see proper.

I am Dr Sr Yr Most obdt Servt
Genl Knox G. WASHINGTON

P. S. Col Clark will give the route.

LXIX

Communicated by J. C. McGuire

West Point Nov. 23rd 1779

Dr Sir

The ordnance and ordnance stores necessary for Fort Arnold and its dependencies you will please have allotted agreeable to a report made to me by yourself and General McDougall and General Du Portail, And where the Artillery can be planted with propriety and safety on account of the unfinished state of the out works to have it done accordingly.

The posts at King-ferry should be immediately supplied with two pieces of cannon (one on each side of the river) to keep off the enemy's row gallies which are beginning to appear there— When the works are in a more complete state of defence, such further aid of artillery as shall be judged absolutely necessary, may be added, tho it is not my intention to place many at this post—but my wish to have those which are there of the least valuable of their kind.

The rest of the ordnance and ordnance stores which the prospect of an extensive operation against New York had drawn to this place and in the vicinity of it, upon or very near the river, I would have sent to Albany on account of the easy & cheap transportation, and because it may be considered as a safe deposit for them.

In a removal of this kind a proper attention must be had to the probable and contingent wants of the Army at its places of cantonment.

You will please to direct (if it is not already done) the Company of Artificers at Fredericksburg commanded by Capn

Post to be withdrawn from that place as also all other small detachments of a similar nature and under similar circumstances and have them more connected, as a number of small and separate detachments involve considerable expence with respect to the issues of provisions &c, while their labor possibly might be employed to greater advantage, if they were more compact and under a more general and frequent inspection.

I am Sir

Your Most Obdt Servt

G. WASHINGTON

Brigadier Genl Knox

LXX

Communicated by J. C. McGuire

Morristown Dec. 8th 1779

Sir

From more particularly conversing with Col. Laurens, I find the Southern department is not very amply supplied with field artillery and that a few pieces from hence will be very useful. I am therefore to desire you will detail six six pounders to march with the Virginia troops which have orders to move immediately— If you cannot spare artillerymen to accompany them, you will at least write to Col Harrison directing him to send a proper number of officers out of those who lately went from the Army— The officers will repair to South Carolina and take General Lincoln's orders— I wish to observe as much secrecy as we can concerning the succour we are sending Southward.

I am Dr Sir

Yr Obdt Servt

G. WASHINGTON

Genl Knox

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The above comprise the letters of Washington not printed by Sparks which have appeared in magazines other than historical so far as known to the editor, by whom additions and corrections are respectfully invited. EDITOR

WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL TO HIS OFFICERS

AT FRAUNCES' TAVERN, NEW YORK

4th December 1783

From Contemporaneous Accounts

Last Thursday noon the principal officers of the army in town assembled at Frauncis' tavern to take a final leave of their illustrious, gracious and much loved commander, *General Washington.* The passions of human nature were never more tenderly agitated, than in this interesting and distressful scene. His excellency having filled a glass of wine, thus addressed his brave fellow-soldiers:

"*With an heart full of love and gratitude I now take leave of you: I most devoutly wish that your latter days may be as prosperous and happy as your former ones have been glorious and honorable.*"

These words produced extreme sensibility on both sides; they were answered by warm expressions, and fervent wishes, from the gentlemen of the army, whose truly pathetic feelings it is not in our power to convey to the reader. Soon after this scene was closed, his excellency the Governor, the honorable the Council and citizens of the first distinction waited on the general and in terms most affectionate, took their leave.

The corps of light infantry was drawn up in a line, the commander in chief, about two o'clock passed through them on his way to Whitehall, where he embarked in his barge for Powles Hook. He is attended by general le baron de Steuben; proposes to make a short stay at Philadelphia; will thence proceed to Annapolis, where he will resign his Commission as General of the American armies, into the hands of the Continental Congress, from whom it was derived, immediately after which his excellency will set out for his seat, named Mount Vernon, in Virginia, emulating the example of his model, the virtuous Roman general, who, victorious, left the tented field, covered with honors, and withdrew from public life, *otium cum dignitate.*—*Rivington's New York Gazette, Dec.* 6, *and Pennsylvania Packet, Dec.* 12, 1783.

On Thursday noon the principal officers of the army assembled at Fraunce's (alias Black Sam's) tavern to take a final leave of their much-loved commander in chief. After a while gen. Washington came in, and calling for a glass of wine thus addressed them: "With an heart full of love and gratitude I now take leave of you. I most devoutly wish that your latter days may be as prosperous and happy as your former ones have been glorious and honorable." Having drank he said "*I cannot come to each of you to take my leave; but shall be obliged to you if each will come and take me by the hand.*" General Knox being nearest turned to him; Washington with tears rolling down his cheeks, grasped Knox's hand and then kissed him: he did the same by every succeeding officer, and by some other gentlemen who were present. The passions of human nature were never more tenderly agitated, than in in this interesting and distressful scene. The whole company were in tears. When Washington left the room, and passed through the corps of light infantry about two o'clock on his way to Whitehall the others followed, walking in a solemn, mute and mournful procession, with heads hanging down and dijected countenances, till he embarked in his barge for Powle's Hook. When he had entered, he turned, took off his hat, and with that bid them a silent adieu. They paid him the same affectionate compliment, and the barge pushing off returned from Whitehall in like manner as they had advanced.—*Gordon's History of the American Revolution*, IV., 383.

NOTE.—Major-General Heath in his memoir, Dr. Thatcher in his Military Journal, Marshall and Irving in the Life, and Custis in the Recollections of Washington repeat these accounts, with trifling variations. Griswold, in his Republican Court prints a letter from "an officer who shared the last march of the revolutionary army, to a friend in Albany," in which occurs the passage: "Happy as was the occasion and prayed for as it was by him and all patriots when he might feel that there was not an enemy in America, it brought with it its sorrows and I could hardly speak when I turned from taking my last look of him. It was extremely affecting. I do not think there were ever so many broken hearts as there were that night."

Fraunces' tavern, the place of this historic and affecting scene, is still standing on the southeast corner of Broad and Pearl streets. It was built early in the last century, and after occupation for some years as a dwelling and vendue house became the property of Samuel Fraunces, a noted publican, who opened a tavern called the Queen's Head, under the sign of Queen Charlotte.

Sam Fraunces or Black Sam, as he was familiarly called from his swarthy complexion, was a West Indian by birth. A romantic story is told of the saving of Washington's life by the innkeeper's daughter, who served the General as housekeeper in 1776, and discovered a plot to poison him in a dish of green peas; but there is no historic warrant for its truth. Fraunces was a patriot, and left the city during the British occupation. After the war he was engaged by Washington as his steward, and had entire charge of his household.

The long room in the tavern, which was for a quarter of a century the favorite resort of clubs, societies and convivial parties, still remains as it was on the memorable day which has been described. It has two fire-places and five windows on the street, beneath which was a piazza, since removed, from which tradition says that Washington waved his hand as farewell to the crowds who gathered to witness the military cortege which escorted him to the barge at Whitehall, EDITOR.

ITINERARY OF GENERAL WASHINGTON

COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE ARMIES OF THE UNITED STATES

15 *June*, 1775, *to* 23 *December* 1783

1775

June 15—at Philadelphia—chosen Commander-in-Chief.
16—at Philadelphia in Congress—accepts his commission in writing.
21—leaves Philadelphia to take command of the army.
24—at Newark.
25—at New York.
26—leaves New York for the Eastward; sleeps at Kingsbridge.
29—at Wethersfield.
30—at Hartford.

July 2—at Watertown; received by Mass. Prov. Cong.—at Cambridge camp.
3—at Cambridge. Headquarters.—takes command of the army.
5—at Roxbury camp, with Maj. Genl. Lee.
13—at Cambridge camp.

Aug. 30—at Cambridge camp.

1776

April 4—leaves Cambridge for New York.
5—at Providence.
8—at Norwich. Meets Gov. Trumbull.
9—at New London. Meets Com. Hopkins.
11—at New Haven.
13—at New York. Headquarters.

May 21—leaves New York for Philadelphia with Mrs. Washington.
22—at Amboy.
24—arrives at Philadelphia; Congress in session.
..—leaves Philadelphia for New York.

June 8—at New York. Headquarters.

Aug. 29—at battle of Long Island.
30—at New York—Headquarters.

Sep. 4—at Kingsbridge. Visits Genl. Heath.
16—at Harlem Heights. Headquarters, Col. Roger Morris' house.

Oct. 22—at Valentine's Hill, Westchester. Headquarters.
..—at White Plains. Headquarters.
28—at Battle of Chatterton's Hill, White Plains.

Nov. 10—at North Castle. Headquarters.

THE LONG ROOM—FRAUNCES' TAVERN.

Nov. 11—at Peekskill. Headquarters.
11—at Fort Montgomery; inspects Highland defences with his officers.
12—at the Gorge in the Highlands with General Heath.
12—crosses the Hudson to the Jerseys.
14—at Fort Lee, Gen. Greene's quarters.
16—at Fort Lee. Views the fight at Fort Washington from the Palisades.
19—at Hackensack; on tour of inspection.
21—at Aquackanoc Bridge.
24—at Newark.
29—at Brunswick. Headquarters.
Dec. 2—at Trenton. Headquarters.
8—at Mr. Berkeley's summer seat.
10—at Falls of the Delaware.
12—Bucks' County. Headquarters at Keith's.
18—in camp near Falls of Trenton.
21—in camp above Trenton Falls.
25—at battle of Trenton.
27—at Newtown. Headquarters.
29—at Bucks' County. Headquarters.
30—at Trenton. Headquarters.

1777

Jan. 2—marches from Trenton.
3—at battle of Princeton.
5—at Pluckemin, on march.
7—at Morristown. Headquarters.
May 29—at Middlebrook. Headquarters.
June 25—in camp at Quibbletown.
28—in camp at Middlebrook.
July 4—at Morristown. Headquarters.
12—at Pompton Plains. Headquarters.
July 15—at the Clove. Headquarters.
21—eleven miles in the Clove; on the march.
24—at Ramapo. Headquarters.
30—at Coryell's Ferry on the Delaware; on the march.
Aug. 1—at Chester.
3—at Philadelphia. Headquarters.
5—at Germantown, in camp.
11—at Bucks' County, in camp.
16—at Cross Road, in camp.
17—at Bucks County. Headquarters
19—at Neshanimy Bridge.
20—at Bucks' County. Headquarters.
21—at Neshanimy camp.
22—at Bucks' County.
22—at Cross Road, in camp.
23—six miles from Philadelphia, on march.
25—at Wilmington. Headquarters.
Sep. 3—evacuates Philadelphia.
8—at Newport, Bucks' Co., Pa.
9—eight miles from Wilmington.
10—at Chester.
13—at Germantown. Headquarters.
15—at Buck's Tavern.
15—at Chads Ford, on the Brandywine. Headquarters; battle of the Brandywine.
Sep. 17—at Yellow Springs.
19—at Parker's Ford, on the Schuylkill, in camp.
20—at Reading Furnace, in camp.
23—near Pottsgrove, in camp.
29—at Pennybeckers Mills. Headquarters.
Oct. 9—at Frederick. Headquarters at Wampoole's.
11—at Skippach camp.

Oct. 11—at Toamensing. Headquarters.
15—at Philadelphia County.
16—at ——— Headquarters at Peter Wintz's.
17—at Matuchen Hill.
18—at Philadelphia County.
27—on the Skippach road.
27—at Philadelphia County.
30—near Whitemarsh. Headquarters.

Dec. 4—near the Gulf, a defile near the Schuylkill. Headquarters.
14—near the Gulf Mill.
17—at Gulf Mill. Headquarters.
22—at Valley Forge. Headquarters.

1778

Feb. 10—at Valley Forge.

May 18—at Valley Forge.

June 21—at ten miles from Coryell's Ferry.
22—at Coryell's Ferry. Headquarters.
24—at Hopewell. Headquarters.
15—at Cranberry.
28—at Englishtown.

July 1—Spotswood. Headquarters.
3—at Brunswick.
11—at Paramus. Headquarters.
17—at Haverstraw Bay. Headquarters.
21—at White Plains. Headquarters.

Aug. 15—at White Plains, in camp.

Sep. 19—at Fort Clinton; West Point.
19—at Fishkill; visits Hospitals and stores.
23—at Fredericksburg. Headquarters.

Oct. 3—at Fishkill, Col. Brinckerhoff's.
8—at Fishkill. Headquarters.
10—at Fredericksburg. Headquarters.
20—leaves Fishkill for Fredericksburg.

Dec. 7—at Paramus.
12—at Middlebrook. Headquarters.
22—arrives at Philadelphia.
28—at Philadelphia.

1779

Feb. 2—leaves Philadelphia for New Jersey.
8—at Middlebrook. Headquarters.

June 4—at Morristown. Headquarters.
6—at Ringwood Iron Works.
10—passed through Trenton on his way to camp.
10—Middlebrook. Headquarters.
11—at Smith's Clove. Headquarters.
21—at West Point, with General Heath.
25—at New Windsor. Headquarters.

July 15—at Fort Montgomery.
16—at New Windsor.
17—at Stony Point.
19—at West Point.
20—at New Windsor.
25—at West Point. Headquarters.

Aug. 9—at Smith's Tavern, in the Clove.
12—at West Point.
15—at West Point. Headquarters.
29—at West Point.

Nov. 29—at Peekskill.

Dec. 7—at Morristown. Headquarters.

1780

Jan. 8—at Morristown. Headquarters.
June 2—at Morristown. Headquarters.
7—at Chatham. Headquarters.
10—at Heights above Springfield. Headquarters.
13—at Bryan's tavern. Headquarters.
25—at Whippany. Headquarters.
27—at Ramapo. Headquarters.
July 2—at Preakness. Headquarters.
4—at Bergen County. Headquarters.
10—near Passaic. Headquarters.
14—at Bergen County. Headquarters.
19—at Preakness. Headquarters.
20—near Passaic. Headquarters at Col. Dey's.
22—at Preakness. Headquarters.
30—at Paramus.
31—at Highlands, New York.
31—in the Highlands, at Col. Robinson's. Headquarters.
31—at Peekskill. Headquarters.
Aug. 11—at Orangetown. Headquarters.
11—at Tappan. Headquarters.
Sep. 2—at Bergen County. Headquarters.
9—at Steenrapie. Headquarters.
17—left for Hartford.
20—at Hartford; interview with Rochambeau.
25—at Robinson's House, in the Highlands. Headquarters.
26—at Orangetown, Rockland Co. Headquarters.
26—at Robinson's. Headquarters.
Oct. 1—at Orangetown; issues orders for the execution of André.
Oct. 4—at Tappan. Headquarters.
7—at Paramus.
8—near Passaic Falls. Headquarters.
9—at Totowa. Headquarters.
9—at Bergen County, N. J.
10—at Preakness.
11—at Bergen County.
11—near Passaic Falls.
14—near Passaic Falls. Headquarters.
16—at Preakness.
18—near Passaic. Headquarters.
21—near Passaic Falls.
31—at Totowa (Passaic Falls); in camp.
Nov. 27—breaks camp at Totowa.
28—leaves for New Windsor.
28—at Morristown.
29—at Morristown. Headquarters. Army marches.
Dec. 6—at New Windsor. Headquarters. Winter quarters.

1781

Jan. 11—at West Point; holds Council of War.
22—at West Point with Lafayette.
26—at Ringwood.
24—at New Windsor. Headquarters.
29—at New Windsor. Headquarters.
Mar. 2—left New Windsor for Newport to meet Rochambeau.
4—passed through Hartford.
6—arrived at Newport.
13—left Newport.
17—at Hartford.
24—at New Windsor. Headquarters.
April 4—at West Point.

April 26—at West Point with Mons. Beville, Quartermaster of French Army.
May 8—at New Windsor. Headquarters.
9—at West Point.
20—at Hartford. Conference with Rochambeau.
23—at Weathersfield. Rochambeau's Headquarters.
27—at New Windsor. Headquarters.
June 26—at Peekskill, near Headquarters.
26—two miles from Peekskill. Headquarters.
July 2—leaves Peekskill at 3 o'clock A. M. with his staff; opens the campaign; halts at New Bridge over Croton; makes a reconnoissance toward New York at Valentine's Hill. Mile square.
3—at Valentine's Hill.
3—in the saddle on reconnoissance.
4—at camp, near White Plains.
5—at North Castle. Visits the French army; dines with Rochambeau.
6—at Philipsburg.
6—near Dobbs Ferry. Headquarters.
7—at Philipsburg, in camp.
10—near Dobbs Ferry. Headquarter
21—at Joshua Hett Smith's House, Haverstraw.
25—at King's Ferry; the army crosses the Hudson.
Aug. 4—at Philadelphia; dines with M. de la Luzerne.
6—makes a reconnoissance toward King's Bridge.
17—in camp at Philipsburg.
17—at Dobbs Ferry. Headquarters.
19—leaves Dobbs Ferry for the south to capture Cornwallis.
26—at Ramapo.
27—at Chatham.
29—at Trenton.
31—at Philadelphia.
Sep. 2—at Philadelphia.
5—at Head of Elk.
10—at Mount Vernon.
15—at Williamsburg.
27—at Williamsburgh; issues orders of battle.
Oct. 1—in camp near York. Headquarters.
21—near Yorktown. Headquarters.
27—at York; entertains Cornwallis.
Nov. 15—at Mount Vernon.
20—at Alexandria.
22—at Annapolis.
28—at Philadelphia.

1782

April 1—at Newburg.
19—at Newburg. Headquarters.
May 12—at Highlands.
30—at Highlands; orders celebration of Dauphin's birthday.
31—at West Point; celebration of Dauphin's bithday; on the Parade with Mrs. Washington.
June 5—at Newburg.
July 9—at Newburg. Headquarters.
22—at Philadelphia.
Sep. 1—at Verplanck's Point. Headquarters.
Dec. 14—at Newburg.
25—at Philadelphia.

1783

Mar. 23—at Mount Vernon.
April 18—at Newburg. Headquarters; issues address on cessations of hostilities.
19—at Ringwood; interview with the Secretary of War.
20—at Newburg. Headquarters.
May 3—at Dobbs Ferry, with Gov. Clinton, to meet Sir Guy Carleton.
6—at Orangetown on conference with Sir Guy Carleton.
9—at Newburgh. Headquarters.
15—at Poughkeepsie.
June 6—at Newburg. Headquarters; replies to address of Generals.
23—at Newburg. Headquarters; Council of War on mutiny of Pennsylvania troops.
Aug. 4—at Albany.
12—at Newburgh.
26—at Princeton; Congress in session.
31—at Rocky Hill.
Oct. 2—at Rocky Hill.
12—at Princeton.
Nov. 4—at Newburg. Headquarters; issues proclamation disbanding the army.
14—at West Point.
22—at Harlem.
25—at New York; enters with the army; dines with the Governor; the British evacuate.
Dec. 2—at New York; farewell to officers at Fraunces' Tavern; leaves New York for Annapolis.
10—at Philadelphia.
20—arrives at Annapolis; Congress in session.
23—resigns his commission to Congress.

NOTE. — The difficulty found in locating Washington at any particular day during the war of the revolution suggested the advantage of the above Itinerary, compiled from correspondence, newspapers, etc. It is by no means complete. Additions are solicited by the

EDITOR.

WASHINGTON'S HEADQUARTERS DURING THE REVOLUTION

The Vassall House, Cambridge, Mass. [1775-76].—On the 8th July, 1775, the Committee of Safety of the Provisional Congress of Massachusetts directed by resolution "that the house of Mr. John Vassall ordered by Congress for the residence of his excellency General Washington should be immediately put in such condition as may make it convenient for that purpose." These quarters he retained until he left Cambridge for New York, April 4th, 1776. This was later known as the Craigie house, and is now known as the homestead of the poet Longfellow.

The Mortier House, New York City [1776].—In the summer of 1776 the presence of Mrs. Washington, and the unhealthy condition of the City of New York, induced the Commander-in-Chief to change his headquarters from the Broadway to this salubrious situation. The Mortier house, one of the great colonial residences, stood on the spot since the southeast corner of Varick and Charlton streets. It was later known as Richmond Hill, and the residence of Col. Burr. It has been destroyed some years.

The Roger Morris House, Harlem Heights, N. Y. [1776].—Another of the famous colonial residences. The

army headquarters were here from the time of the retreat from Long Island in September until the final evacuation of the Island of New York in October, 1776. The house was later the residence of Madame Jumel, and is now in the occupation of her descendants.

The Miller House, White Plains, Westchester County, N. Y. [1776]. During and after the fight at Chatterton's Hill Washington had his headquarters in the house now standing, and until recently in the occupation of the Miller family, by which name it is still known.

The Ford House, Morristown, New Jersey [1777 and 1779–80].—This house, during the revolution occasionally occupied as the headquarters of the army, and the residence of the General and Mrs. Washington in the severe winter of 1779–80, was the homestead of Col. Jacob Ford, who commanded a regiment in the New Jersey Militia; it remained in the possession of the family until its purchase in 1873 by Governor Randolph of New Jersey, together with Messrs. Halsey, Halstead and Lidgerwood, who have since transferred it to the State, to be forever preserved. It is familiarly known by the name of the "Old Headquarters."

The Pompton Headquarters, Pompton, New Jersey [1777].—Tradition reports that Washington had his headquarters in a little frame house, on the banks of the Wynockie, which stands at the bend of a road leading from the Ryerson Furnace to the Passaic County Hotel. It is opposite to a more imposing structure known as the Ryerson House. During the revolution it belonged to Capt. Arent Schuyler. It was occupied from 1783 to 1815 by Judge M. S. Ryerson and by his descendants till 1870, when it passed into the possession of Miss Harriet Mills, its present owner.

The Elmar House, Whitemarsh, New Jersey [1777]. — Mr. Lossing, in his Field-book of the Revolution, describes this building as "standing upon the edge of a wet meadow at the head of a fine valley, and as a sort of baronial hall in size and character, where Elmar, its wealthy owner, dispensed hospitality to all who came under its roof." Washington was here in the late fall and early winter of 1777–8.

Ring's House at Chads Ford, Delaware County, Penn. [1777]. — It was at this house, then the residence of Benjamin Ring, that Washington established the temporary headquarters from which he directed the battle of the Brandywine. Mr. Lossing gives a sketch of it in his Field Book.

The Potts House, Valley Forge, Penn. [1777-8].—This historic building remains in excellent preservation. It was built in the middle of the last century by John Potts of Pottstown, Penn., and left by him to his son Isaac Potts, who sold it in 1805 to Joseph Paul, who in 1826 sold it to James Jones, in whose family possession it still remains. The sufferings of the army and the anxiety of the Commander-in-Chief at this period are familiar to all, but held in most vivid memory by the inhabitants of the valley.

Col. Brinckerhoff's, Fishkill Village, N. Y. [1778].—This house was a famous

stopping place for travellers on the road between the Eastern and Middle States. Col. Brinckerhoff, like many others, served the army in the field while his family entertained the patriots at their homes; this in no way impairing their personal importance. The house is now in the occupation of the Van Wyck family.

The Hopper House. Bergen County, N. J. [1780].—It was at this house, the residence of Andrew Hopper, a noted character of the revolution, and it is said a trusted spy of Washington, that the numerous letters and general orders, dated at Bergen County, were written by the Commander-in-Chief. The house is still standing, but so altered as to be no longer recognizable. After the death of Hopper the house passed into the hands of the Hegeman family, with which he was intermarried. It was sold last summer with its furniture, in which were many curious revolutionary relics.

The Beverley Robinson House, in the Highlands, now Garrisons, N. Y.[1780].—This building, familiarly called in the records of the revolution Col. Robinson's, was the constant stopping-place of the General when he crossed the river from his West Point Headquarters. Its owner was implicated in the treasonable plot of Arnold, whose headquarters were in this house at the time of his defection. It now makes a part of the estate of Hamilton Fish.

The Birdsall House, Peekskill, N. Y. [1780–81].—This old mansion is one of the first buildings erected in the village, settled in 1764. It was a favorite tavern, and repeatedly visited by the officers during the period when the allied armies under Washington and Rochambeau menaced the English positions in and about New York. It stands on the old post road, and is still kept as a tavern by one Mandeville. Near by are yet seen the remains of the old fort which crowned this elevated position, at the mouth of the Highland gorge.

The Tappan Headquarters, Tappan, N. Y. [1780].—A special interest attaches to this spot, because of its connection with the story of the unfortunate André. It was here that Washington issued the fatal warrant which condemned him to an ignominious death. It is situated near the road from Sneeden's Landing, within a few feet of the main street of the village. It was during the revolution the property of John de Windt, a native of the West Indies, from whom it passed to his granddaughter, who was married to Samuel S. Verbryck.

Joshua Hett Smith's House, Haverstraw, N. Y. [1781].—Claude Blanchard, Commissary of the French auxiliary army under Rochambeau, in his journal from 1780-83 relates that on the 21st of August, 1781, he took tea with General Washington at "Smith's House, famous from the fact that there André and Arnold held their meeting." The Continental army was then in motion upon the well-devised expedition which ended in the capture of Cornwallis.

This house was owned during the revolution by Joshua Hett Smith. It is beautifully situated on the ridge of a hill which commands an extensive view of the river, and overlooks the in-

tervening points which jut out into it in the most picturesque manner. It was off one of these, known as Grassy Point, that the Vulture lay when the guns of the Continental artillery under Livingston drove her from her anchorage. She dropped down the stream, leaving André on shore in conference with Arnold. His guide declining to run the risk of escorting André down, he passed the night with Smith, who had been his companion in the conference. And it was in the upper room of Smith's house that André committed the fatal imprudence of exchanging the English uniform he had up to that time worn for the clothing of a countryman.

From the Smiths the house passed into the hands of a family named Nicoll, from them to one Haussman, and later into the occupancy of Adam Lilburn, who now resides in it. It is one of the most beautiful situations on the Hudson, commanding a landscape unrivalled in extent, variety and charm.

Tne Hasbrouck House, Newburg, N. Y. [1782–83]. — This old building was erected by the Hasbroucks between 1750 and 1770, the dates of the additions to the original structure being cut upon the walls. In the year 1817, by an act of Legislature, it became the property of the State of New York, and in 1850 was placed in the care of the Trustees of the Village of Newburg, and forever set aside as an historic mansion.

Washington made his headquarters here from the spring of 1782 until the summer of the next year. Mrs Washington passed a part of this period with him. It was from Newburg that he issued the proclamation disbanding the army, November 4, 1783.

HOUSES VISITED BY WASHINGTON DURING THE REVOLUTION

The Shaw House, New London [1776]. Washington stopped at New London on his way from Cambridge to New York, and held an interview with Commodore Hopkins. He slept the night of April 9 at the house of Nathaniel Shaw.

Col. Morehouse's Tavern, Pawling, now Dover, Dutchess County, N. Y. [1778].—On the highway from Fishkill to Hartford — a celebrated stopping-place for the officers.

Cortlandt House, Yonkers, N. Y. [1781]. — Here Washington dined in July, 1781, on the occasion of a reconnoissance towards New York.

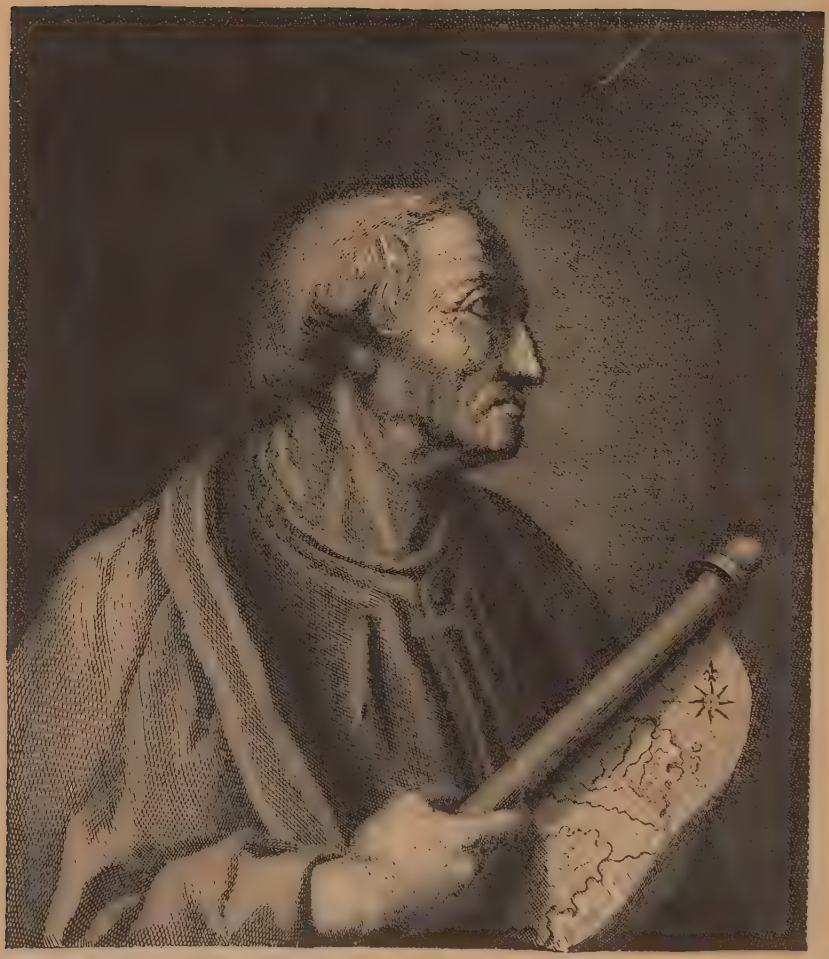
Rocky Hill, Somerset County, N. J. [1783].—Washington wrote his Farewell Address here.

Van Brugh Livingston House, Dobbs Ferry, N. Y. [1783].—Place of conference of Washington and Gov. Clinton with Sir Guy Carleton.

Day's Tavern, Harlem, New York [1783].—Opposite the Point of rocks at the junction of the Harlem and Kingsbridge roads. Washington stopped here on his entrance to the city in November of this year.

Fraunces' Tavern, New York [1783]. —Corner of Pearl and Broad streets. Place of Farewell to his Officers.

NOTE.—The above lists are not complete; additions are requested by the EDITOR.



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THE LETTERS OF WASHINGTON

When the purpose was conceived of gathering together from the private autograph collections of the country *all* the letters of Washington as yet unpublished, there was no means of forming an adequate estimate of their extent and value. The seventy now printed are a first instalment of the priceless store which the generosity of their owners, and a due regard to the supreme importance of preserving from loss or injury every line of the private and public correspondence of Washington, have brought to the MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY in response to its recent call.

These are published in the order of their dates, without selection, preference or arrangement; many are of the greatest importance in the light they throw upon obscure points in the history of the American revolution, while others of minor public value are of equal interest in their illustration of the personal traits and habits of the august character to whom the common consent of mankind has ascribed the attribute of First in public merit and private virtue.

An equal number of letters of a like value remains, and will be later published in these pages. New contributions are earnestly solicited, and a general cooperation respectfully urged, until every letter in the hand-writing or bearing the signature of Washington shall have been rescued from oblivion, and given to the world. It is deeply to be regretted that all the autographs are not the property of the nation, but the purposes of history will be as fully served by their textual and careful publication.

The courtesy shown by the gentlemen who have contributed these documents, as well as those the publication of which is deferred by reason of the limited space available in the present issue, is cordially and gratefully acknowledged. Such hearty and liberal collaboration is the most valued encouragement. If this exclusive devotion of a monthly number of the Magazine to Washington meet the approbation of its patrons, the publication of the material collected will be continued after a reasonable interval, and in the same number will appear an interesting original paper on the Portraiture of Washington, together with an account of all the known portraits, miniatures, crayons and engravings, with original illustrations. To this also a general cooperation is particularly invited.

EDITOR.

MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

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THE CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE COLONY OF NEW YORK

A WRITER in the December number of this Magazine [1878], who discussed with ability and clearness "The Constitutional Development of the American Colonies," dismissed New York as an element in that development with the general assertion that "its influence was slightly felt in the earlier period of their history," and without indicating that its influence was felt at all in the later and more important periods of colonial life. We can agree that the estimate of this writer has often been expressed by historians of that epoch; but it is an estimate founded upon a failure to inquire into the real part which New York played in the development of the American system before the Revolution; and it is remarkable that a writer in a magazine like this should permit himself to fall into so antiquated an error. As a matter of fact, the part played by New York in the struggle for the attainment of a constitutional government which culminated in the Revolution, was unique in many respects, and was more important in several, both as to character and influence, here and in England, than that which progressed simultaneously in her sister colonies.

After the conquest of New Amsterdam from the Dutch, the whole Atlantic coast of the original thirteen States came for the first time into the undisputed possession of Great Britain. At that time there existed in these colonies under English rule no less than three distinct forms or varieties of government, as widely dissimilar in their nature as it is possible for human governments to be. The unique and extraordinary feature in the colonial history of New York is that she passed through these three phases of government in her upward progress towards the free constitution of 1777, not attaining the last and highest form until she secured that free constitution, but wresting from a reluctant prerogative in the meanwhile many of its most important advantages. This

remarkable progress was accomplished, from point to point and vantage ground to vantage ground, by the intelligent and self-reliant determination of her citizens of every nationality. The record of their constant struggle to achieve their manifest destiny, in the face of obstacles such as no other colony had to contend with, seems to me the most glorious in the colonial annals of America. I believe it to be the only perfect illustration of a clearly-defined political evolution in the history of this continent.

The first and lowest of these three varieties of colonial government is described as the proprietary—a government granted out to individuals, after the manner of feudatory principalities. Such New York became when the colony passed from under the despotic rule of the Dutch West India Company into the personal possession of the equally despotic Duke of York. In other proprietary governments, like Pennsylvania and Maryland, there was from the first an Assembly chosen by the people, which shared the functions of government with the proprietor. New York, without a solitary semblance to a government representative in its character, and without any claim to such a government beyond that which she based upon the quicksand of an inherent right, finally forced the concession of a representative assembly from the Duke of York.

Mr. Taylor is entirely in error in the statement that "representative assemblies, after having been abolished and reconstructed many times under the Dutch and English Governments, were finally established with recognized powers in 1683." Such a thing as a representative assembly was never known in New York under the Dutch Government. There were many conventions of delegates, and they constantly demanded the introduction of a representative form of government, with some share by the people in the enactment of the laws. But these demands were uniformly and preemptorily refused by the Dutch West India Company. Mr. Taylor states that "in 1641 the Directors called together the first representative assembly." What Governor Kieft called together at that time was a meeting of all the patroons, masters and heads of families in the vicinity of the fort, to take council concerning a collision with the neighboring Indians. It was not a representative assembly, because it was not constituted by the people, and had no powers in and of itself. Again, representative assemblies, instead of having been "abolished and reconstructed many times under the Dutch and English Governments," were never abolished but once, and never established but twice. They were established for the first time in 1683, when, in the words of

the historian Smith, "the people, who had been formerly ruled at the will of the Duke's Deputies, began their first participation in the legislative power under Governor Dongan." They were abolished by the same Prince, after he became James II., June 16, 1686. Thereafter the Governor and his Council made all the laws, subject to the approval of the King, until the Leisler revolution in 1689, when an assembly was elected, the legality of whose enactments was never subsequently recognized. But the first Governor who arrived in New York with a commission signed by William and Mary, brought with him an order to re-establish the Assembly, and re-instate the people in their rights. This Assembly, which is called the second, met in April, 1691, and its successors continued to be elected, under the order of Royal Governors, until the thirty-first and last Assembly was elected in 1768, and went out of existence amid the chaos of the Revolution.

Thus New York passed from a purely proprietary government into that variety described as a provisional establishment—in which the Governor and Council were appointed by the Crown, and the constitution depended upon the respective commissions or instructions issued by the Crown to the Governors. Upon the authority of these instructions—and never in recognition of any inherent right of which the Crown took cognizance—Provincial Assemblies were elected by the people, with the power to make laws and ordinances not repugnant to the laws of England or the said instructions, and always subject to the King's veto. Such were the governments of New Hampshire, Georgia, New Jersey after 1702, the Carolinas after 1728, and New York after 1689.

The third form of colonial government, known as the Charter Government, in which the Governor, Council and Assembly were elected by the people, and entrusted with all the powers of the three branches of government under its other phases, was that enjoyed by Plymouth Colony, Connecticut, Rhode Island and originally Massachusetts—the latter, under her second charter, developing a mixed government in which the Governor only was appointed by the Crown.

Thus it appears that there were certain of the original colonies, of which Massachusetts and Virginia were the most conspicuous examples, which were originally possessed, through no special virtue or act of their own, of political privileges and institutions far in advance of those of New York. New York never rose to certain political privileges which Massachusetts and Virginia enjoyed, with but slight intermission, from the first, until the outbreak of the Revolution permitted her to frame and adopt her first and self-granted charter, the constitution of 1777. Mas-

sachusetts and Virginia possessed certain absolute rights, by virtue of charter or ordinance, which New York never possessed as a colony. Laboring under this disadvantage, it was only left for New York to announce the "inherent right" of a free people to govern themselves; to assert and assume particular rights denied to her by the Government of England; to insist that the laws of England were equally applicable at home and in the colonies; and to maintain this stand in spite of the most persistent and strenuous opposition from the Crown, until, as one right after another became clothed with the force and sacredness of precedent, she may be said to have worked out for herself from her own isolated experience a form of constitutional government differing in many respects from the governments of the other colonies, established by her own courageous persistence, resting only upon the vigilant determination of her citizens, and constituting the broad foundation upon which she subsequently erected the constitution of 1777.

In the slow and painful elaboration of this constitution of precedents the political history of the province of New York is more interesting and suggestive than that of any other colony. Massachusetts and Virginia, the neighbors of New York, may be said to have manufactured their own institutions in the manner most pleasing to themselves. The New Yorkers had their institutions manufactured for them. As soon as ever they could they entered in earnest upon the work of conforming those institutions to those which they saw existing around them. All that they gained in this respect they captured *vi et armis* from the prerogative. Whatever they had that was worth keeping, they had wrested from tyrannical and deceitful princes and stubborn or ignorant Governors, at the constant peril of their lives, their property and their liberty. The nearest parallel to this struggle is that which was approaching its consummation in Great Britain at the moment when this began; which started with the Magna Charta, was continued in the Bill of Rights, in the struggle against the Stuarts and Puritan revolution, and secured, if not altogether completed, in the revolution of 1688. It is the purpose of this article to point out some of the successive steps of this constitutional development, and to a slight extent to trace their influence in the subsequent constitutional history of the United States.

In the first place, let it be understood that the first representative assembly in New York, to which I have already alluded, was a concession wrung from a reluctant prince by the persistant refusal of the colony to do honor to a government from the control of which they

were totally excluded. To her Dutch no less than to her English settlers was New York indebted for this first great triumph. In no other colony was such a triumph secured by the same popular influences. Virginia justly boasts that the first representative legislature of any description on American soil was her House of Burgesses. When Sir George Yeardly voluntarily called that assembly together, in 1619, he permitted it to assume and exercise some functions of legislation that were denied to the New York Assembly more than one hundred years afterwards. It was only two years later that the Council in England issued an ordinance which gave to that House of Burgesses a complete and permanent sanction. In 1704, Lord and Governor Cornbury declared that the New York Asssembly sat "purely by the grace and favor of the crown;" and as late as 1738, Lieutenant-Governor Clarke described the government of New York as follows: "the constitution of the Government of New York is such as his Majesty, by his commission to his Governor, directs." It is necessary to remember that New York was constantly struggling to maintain those primary rights in which her sister colonies were practically secure, in order to properly estimate the influence New York exerted in the constitutional development of the American colonies.

The first Representative Assembly of New York—that of 1683—asserted the great doctrine of "Taxation only by consent." I know of no more explicit statement of the principle, upon which alone the American Revolution can be justified, at an earlier period in the existence of any colony. This doctrine, first clearly enunciated in New York in 1683, was never receded from by that colony.

The second Representative Assembly of New York defined another principle, which ultimately became the basis of the longest, the most evenly contested, and in some respects, the most important struggle between a colony and the royal prerogative, that occurred in the colonial epoch. "A revenue for defraying the public expenses" was granted by this Assembly, the money raised to be paid to the Receiver-General, and issued under the Governor's warrant. Attached to the Act was a proviso that the law should be limited in its effect to two years. In their subsequent struggles to preserve the limited revenue, the settlers in New York received their magnificent education for the Revolution. For several years the issue was not raised again. When Lord Lovelace, the tenth English Governor, met the Assembly of 1709, he recommended the raising of a revenue for seven years, as had last been done. In communicating to the Governor its unwillingness to

honor his request, the Assembly took occasion to intimate the disadvantage under which the colony labored, because of the difference between its political institutions and those of its near neighbors. "The just freedom enjoyed by our neighbors by the tender indulgence of the Government," says their bold and spirited address, "has extremely drained and exhausted us both of people and stock; whilst a different treatment, the wrong methods too long taken and severities practiced here, have averted and deterred the usual part of mankind from settling hitherto." A dissolute Governor had squandered the money given him without restraint. It was to save the colony from such experiences that the Assembly of 1709 devised the Annual Revenue Bill. The conflict was averted for the time, for upon the very day that the bill was passed, Lord Lovelace died.

His successor, Robert Hunter, took up the gauntlet thus thrown down. Governor and Assembly each was as firm as the other, and Hunter went for three years without the compensation attached to his office. Only the pressing emergency of difficulty on the Canadian frontier prevented the dead-lock from developing into a decisive crisis. Failing to coerce, Hunter finally coaxed a five year's revenue out of this body; and the traditions of the period are not free from the suggestion of bribery in connection with his success. Meanwhile he had written home to his friend, Dean Swift, that "the Assembly has trumped up an inherent right, declared the powers granted by the Queen's letters-patent to be against law, and have but one short step towards what I am unwilling to name. The Assemblies claim all the privileges of the House of Commons. Should the councilors, by the same rule, lay claim to the rights of a House of Peers, here is a body co-ordinate with and independent of the great council of the realm; yet this is the plan of government they all aim at, and make no scruple to own." "If the Assembly of New York," reported the Lords of Trade, 1713, "is suffered to proceed after this manner, it may prove of very dangerous consequence to that colony, and of very ill example to the other governments of America.'

It was nearly thirty years later before the struggle for the annual grant was renewed. When Clarke was at the head of the province, the precedent gained a firm footing. Governor Clinton, who succeeded him, at first gave his assent to the annual bills. Subsequently, under special instructions from the Lords of Trade, he refused his consent, and found himself involved in a controversy with men as obstinate as himself and vastly keener with their wits. As often as he dissolved one

Assembly with indignant reproof, the people returned the same men to torment him by asserting the same principle. When he upbraided them with disloyalty to the crown, they protested that they showed their loyalty to the genius of the English Government by obeying the behests of their constituents. Again he yielded, after two years of acrimonious assertion of his prerogative, and followed his discomfiture by his resignation.

Another Governor came, carrying in his pocket the instructions of Clinton, made more explicit and preemptory. But the magnitude of the task drove Sir Danvers Osborne into suicide before he had even tested the temper of the people he was sent out to subdue. He had been enjoined to declare, in the strongest terms and without delay, the King's high displeasure at the neglect and contempt of New York, to exact due obedience, receding from all encroachments, and considering without delay a proper law for a permanent revenue, "solid, indefinite, and without limitation."

The sagacious obstinacy of the colony was already approaching the period of its conspicuous reward. When James De Lancey succeeded to the Government as Lieutenant-Governor, he did not permit his former relations with the popular party to interfere with a literal regard for the royal instructions he had inherited from the unhappy Osborne. Urging the Assembly constantly to grant a permanent revenue, and refusing to sign the annual bills which were as constantly presented to him, he received no salary as Acting-Governor for three years, and until the spring of 1756, when the Ministry, worn out by the endurance of New York, surrendered at discretion, agreed to the Annual Support Bill, and directed the new Governor, Sir Thomas Hardy, to communicate the change of instructions to the Assembly. Thus ended a contest extending over nearly half a century, in which the citizens of New York learned to withstand the threats of authority, and to defy the demands of the prerogative. New York several times departed from the principle laid down by the Assembly of 1709; but she never relinquished the claim that it was a right, and she effected the most important limitation put upon the prerogative during the colonial period, when she finally secured the recognition of that right. "Nowhere else," says Bancroft, alluding to these struggles, "was the collision between the royal Governor and the Provincial Assembly so violent and so inveterate; nowhere had the Legislature, by its methods of granting money, so nearly exhausted and appropriated to itself all executive authority; nowhere had the relations of the province to Great Britain been more sharply

contravened." Dunlap, referring to the same struggle, says that "here was a sense of right and courage to resist power, equal to anything on record. Yet these people might be said to depend for protection, from both the French and the Indians, upon the power which they defied." The real courage of the New Yorkers can be better appreciated after reading the letters which Clinton poured in upon the Board of Trade, entreating the King "to make a good example for all America, by regulating the Government of New York."

I have already said that this contest for the Annual Supply Bill grew originally out of the reckless prodigality of some of the Governors, who accepted their appointment to the province of New York as an invitation to fill their pockets during the period of their exile. Another check which the Assembly early placed upon the Governor was the Treasurer, elected by itself. The first colonial Treasurer dates from the era of the dissolute and weak-minded Cornbury. The Governor protested that the declaration that the appointment of a Treasurer was to "prevent the misapplication of money in the future," was a reflection upon himself. Appealing in vain to the Assembly, he turned to the Queen. An order came to permit the New York Assembly to name their own Treasurer when they raised extraordinary supplies for special purposes. This was the most important advance in the evolution of self-government thus far achieved by the colony, after the concession of the representative Assembly. Having gained a Treasurer for special funds, the Assembly was not long in insisting that all the funds raised by it for the support of the colonial government should lodge in the hands of this officer of their own selection, and within their own perview. They followed by natural sequence to the control of all officers necessary for the collection and disbursement of the colonial revenues —a purpose which the Assembly accomplished by naming the name of each public officer in connection with the appropriation for his salary.

The degree of success which gradually attended these efforts to control the finances of the colony may be gathered from the letter which Governor Shirley wrote to Governor Clinton in 1748, in which he described at length the "many innovations tending to create an entire dependency of the Governor and other officers upon the Assembly, and to weaken his Majesty's government in the colony, introduced from year to year contrary to the express directions of his Majesty's instructions. * * * Upon all which innovations and encroachments I shall only observe in general, that the Assembly seems to have left

scarcely any part of his Majesty's prerogative untouched, and that they have gone great lengths towards getting the whole government, military as well as civil, into their hands." (Colonial His. N. Y., Vol. VI, p. 435–6.)

We have already seen that the great leaps towards popular government made by the colony between the years 1743 and 1748 were not surrendered under De Lancey, and were practically confirmed by the Crown under Hardy. It is noticeable that the measures upon which the colony sought issue with the crown were not mere excuses for factitious opposition. Each one of them involved a principle, since recognized both in the Constitutions of our States and in the Federal Constitution, as essential to the efficient administration of a popular government. The colonial Assembly of New York worked out for us, and tested by actual experience, the principles which we have come to regard as the glory and the safety of our constitutional fabric.

It was this same Assembly, the eleventh, which first refused to admit the Council's amendment to a money bill, thus insisting upon the same relative powers, in relation to the upper House, which the House of Commons early took to itself. The Assembly was compelled to yield the point at this time to the adverse decision of the Lords of Trade; but it subsequently returned and adhered to it. This controversy affords another illustration of the fact that the colonial statesmen of New York were close students of the constitutional history of Great Britain, and that they were seeking to plant their own government upon the foundations that had proved safest in England. The guiding theory of their action was that the Assembly of New York bore the same relation to the government of that colony that the Parliament of Great Britain bore to the realm over whose destinies it presided. The mother country has since confessed that they were right, by adopting the principle they first clearly enunciated, in the government of her Canadian provinces. But previous to the Revolution, it was because she insisted upon the soundness of this principle, that New York was regarded in the councils of the crown as the most dangerous and rebellious of the colonies.

It was left for the Assembly of 1708 to appoint a Committee on Greivances, and to pass from that committee a series of resolutions declaratory of what they believed to be their rights under the British Constitution, and the manner in which they conceived those rights to be infringed. These resolutions declared the appointment of coroners in the colony without their being chosen by the people to be a griev-

ance, and contrary to law; that it was and ever had been the unquestionable right of every free man in the province to have a perfect and entire property in his goods and estate; that the imposing and levying of any taxes upon the people of the colony "under any pretense or color whatsoever," without the consent of the General Assembly, was a greivance, and a violation of the people's property; that for any officer to extort from the people any unlimited fees not positively established and regulated by the Assembly, was unreasonable and unlawful; that the erection of a Court of Equity, without the consent of the General Assembly, was contrary to law, without precedent, and of dangerous consequence to the liberty and property of the subjects."

I have summarized this remarkable paper, because it not only shows some of the peculiar hardships which the New Yorkers were compelled to accept from their government, but the bold and forcible manner in which they proclaimed their greivances and described the only remedy. Perhaps the most notable of their greivances was the establishment of the Court of Equity, or Chancery, with the Governor of the province as the Chancellor. Governor Hunter was first empowered to erect this court; and the Assembly immediately declared that its erection, without the consent of that body, was contrary to the law of the colony. A Committee on Greivances reported that the court, as constituted, "renders the liberties and properties of the subjects extremely precarious; and by the violent measures allowed by it, some have been ruined, others obliged to abandon the colony, and many restrained in it, either by imprisonment or by excessive bail exacted from them not to depart, even when no manner of suits are depending against them." The committee was therefore of the conclusion that "the extraordinary proceedings, and the exorbitant fees and charges countenanced to be exacted by the officers of the court, are the greatest greivance and oppression this colony hath ever felt; and that its establishment, without the consent of the Assembly, was contrary to the laws of England." The Chancery Court having charge of the matter of quit-rents was easily made a machine of blackmail and oppression, and a source of unlimited illegitimate revenue to an unscrupulous Governor and his favorites. The Lords of Trade declared that "her Majesty had the undoubted right to erect as many courts in her plantations as she chose." But the people persisted in their opposition. Shortly after the arrival of William Cosby as Governor, in 1732, began the famous controversy between him and Rip Van Dam, which, in its results, proved to be the most important educator in popular rights the people of New

York had yet had thrust upon them. It involved the constitutionality of the Chancery Court; and from that controversy dates the distinct organization of the popular party, as opposed to the Royalists, or prerogative party, in the colony of New York. Out of that controversy also grew the famous trial of John Peter Zenger, which first established the freedom of the press in America, and encouraged it to the valiant service it subsequently rendered in the cause of American independence. By his removal of Morris from the Chief Justiceship, by his dismissal of Smith and Alexander from the Council, by his secret and arbitrary removal of Van Dam, by his long continuance of a pliant Assembly in defiance of the boldly expressed desire of the people, Cosby did more than any predecessor to render odious the methods of government which the crown permitted to be thrust upon this colony. Before dismissing the struggle over the Chancery Court, we must record that the vigorous denunciation of the Assembly very early compelled an ordinance reducing its fees and forbidding its most odious abuses: and that the popular contempt for the court continued so great that, in the words of the historian Smith, "the wheels of the Chancery have ever since rusted upon their axis, the practice being condemned by all gentlemen of eminence in the profession." It is notable, also, that the right of the King to establish courts of chancery, without the consent of Parliament, was warmly contested in that body in 1734 and again in 1775.

There was one other struggle between the people of New York and the prerogative, the influence of which was important, not only within, but without the province; I refer to the demand of the former for frequent elections of the representative Assembly. In most of the events to which I have thus far alluded, the Assembly appears as the aggressive champion, not only of its own inherent rights and privileges, but of those rights and privileges which belonged to the people at large, in the details of their every day life. But it frequently happened, in New York as elsewhere, that the Assembly fell behind the people, and appeared for the time acquiescent in the claims of the prerogative in matters at issue. It was at these times that the New Yorkers took up their own cause. Whenever such an Assembly was found, it was the natural disposition of the Governor to continue it in existence as long as possible. There was no limit set to such existence, either in precedent or instructions. One Assembly—that of 1716—existed ten years. During the administration of Cosby, one Assembly was continued for six years. The people constantly solicted the Governor for a new election. The Assembly itself several times enacted bills declaring that no

Assembly should continue longer than three years, and that an Assembly should be held at least once in every year. It was largely to compel the wholesome presence of this body that the plan of annual revenue bills was originated and persisted in. Cosby refused assent to all such propositions and was not unmindful of the success of Hunter, by the distribution of offices among the members, in avoiding the friction that indicated the irreconcilable variance between the colony and the home Government. To prevent this indirect bribery, bills were introduced prohibiting Assemblymen from accepting any office of profit after their election. Naturally such a law did not pass. Under Clarke, the successor of Cosby and a Governor who was not above bartering law against law, a bill for triennial elections finally received the approval of all the branches of the colonial Government. But when this law went to England for approval, it was set aside as "a high infringement upon the prerogative of the Crown." The Assembly was obliged at last, under the administration of Clinton, in 1743, to yield its assent to a septennial act. The evils experienced in this province from the use made by the Crown of its power of perpetuating assemblies, were so great and so singular to New York, that when the convention of the people drew up in 1775 certain terms of reconciliation with the parent country, one of them was that the duration of Assemblies should not exceed three years. When Assemblies were refractory they were dissolved and re-elected, sometimes twice in a year. It is sometimes thrown in the face of New York that the last Provincial Assembly was a Royalist body, ready to register the will of the King against the colonists. But in determining the attitude of the people at this time, it is necessary to remember that this Assembly was elected in 1768, and that its existence at the outbreak of the Revolution was one of the most conspicuous of the evils of the government by prerogative, against which New York had been waging her unceasing warfare.

In summing up the several distinct struggles which I have thus briefly traced, I am struck by the fact that they all indicate the determination of the colonists of New York to secure a government, not hostile to the Crown or its legitimate jurisdiction, but equipped with those checks and balances which have since come to be regarded as absolutely vital to the purity and the efficiency of a representative government. There was an evidence of a profound political philosophy in the attitude of New York, which was not reflected in the councils of the several monarchs who found her such a troublesome subject. The sum of that philosophy was, that England having granted New

York a representative Assembly, was bound to abide by the logic of that grant as it was illustrated and enforced in the history of her own Commons. In the consistency of their several claims against the prerogative, as well as in the statesmanship and foresight, to say nothing of the courage and persistence with which these claims were urged upon the Crown, individually and inter-dependently, I hold that New York stands in advance of all her sister colonies.

I have not undertaken to deal in this article with the decade in the history of New York preceding the actual outbreak of the Revolution. The part New York played in the development of the crisis that led to the Revolution is better known than the earlier history with which I have dealt. The conquest of Canada followed close upon the great triumph by which New York consumated her colonial struggle against the prerogative, in gaining the royal assent to the Annual Revenue Bill. After that triumph New York devoted her energies and her resources to the conquest of Canada, with a generous patriotism which challenged the admiration of her neighbors. The triumph to which I have alluded, and the hardly more important triumph of English and colonial arms in Canada, tended to create in New York a feeling of kindliness towards the home Government, which had not before existed since old Governor Stuyvesant was compelled to deliver over the keys of the fort. But it is nowhere denied that, during those momentous ten years, signalized by the repressive legislation of Parliament, by the Stamp Act and its resistance and repeal, by the discarding of the tea, by the riots in the streets of New York between British soldiers and American citizens, by the organized exploits of the Sons of Liberty, by the erection of the Pitt statue, by the burning of the Royalist, Colden, in effigy, that New York was always in the forefront of the colonial cause. By reason of her growing importance as the central and commercial colony, New York had been during the one hundred years preceding, the special plantation selected by the Crown for discipline; and for the same reason she now became a center, around which revolved, both in England and America, the currents which turned into the Revolution. While the leading statesmen of New York were equally distinguished for the earnest moderation of their views and the splendid effectiveness of their arguments, Bancroft records of the people at large, that "in no colony did English dominion find less of the sympathy of the people than in New York."

In conclusion, let me simply call attention to the circumstances,

singular to New York alone, under which that colony contributed so much to accelerate the Revolution. There existed in New York, during the entire colonial period, an aristocratic element such as was found in no other colony. The Dutch West India Company had laid the foundations for it, in the charter of the Patroons, which transplanted feudalism to the soil of the new world. The roots took such deep hold that they were not eradicated until the Revolution tore them up. When the English came into possession of the province, they confirmed the feudalistic tendency by their extravagant grants of land to men who became the lords of manors, and assumed privileges, accumulated wealth, and established retinues which in some instances rivalled the splendid displays of the mother country. The families of these men were naturally bound to the mother country, and to the Government by prerogative, by ties that steadily resisted the popular impulses that dominated the colony. For nearly a century they had basked in the favor of the Crown. I may state as a single illustration of the relations which the home Government maintained with a class in the colony, that that there was but one instance during the colonial history in which the Council was not arrayed in opposition to the Assembly whenever that Assembly was found in antagonism to the prerogative—which was more than two-thirds of the time. Colden was the Lieutenant-Governor of the province during the last colonial decade. A Royalist by instinct as well as by education, and bound to the Crown by the associations and the rewards of a life-time, he became the instrument through whom the Government blocked the patriots, distracted their counsels, and made them appear before the world as a divided colony. He yielded no atom of sympathy to the popular cause. When he found it impossible to enforce his authority, he sought the most vicious motives with which to account for the popular resistance. He was a type of man undoubtedly found more frequently in New York before the Revolution than anywhere else in the country. But because of his frequent appearance there, because of the organized strength of the New York Royalists, because of the luke-warm or hostile attitude of a large landed and monied interest, thus bound to the Crown, the attitude of New York was at once more critical and more creditable. It was assumed and maintained under circumstances more trying than those existing in any other colony. These facts were not unknown nor unappreciated; and hence it was that all the colonies watched anxiously to see what New York would do, and found their best stimulus in what she did.

S. N. DEXTER NORTH

SPANISH AMERICAN DOCUMENTS, PRINTED OR INEDITED

The Spanish documents and authentic papers relating to the discovery and conquest of America, have been finding their way into print during the last fifty years only. Robertson wrote his history almost entirely without their aid, depending upon the printed materials at hand, and unable often to obtain some of these, owing to their rarity and absence in public or private libraries. Antonio de Herrera was the first to prepare a general history of the New World founded on documentary proofs, but he never gives a reference to their whereabouts, and does not specially quote them. He used, however, many now apparently lost, such as the original diary of the explorer, Juan Ponce de Leon, which appears to have been before him in 1600, but has since disappeared. Barcia, in his reprints of Herrera, adds nothing to the text, and makes no reference to the existence of any documents. Las Casas, in his *Historia*, gives an abridgement of the diary of the first voyage of Columbus,[1] but the full document has not been seen since. This work, completed in 1559, has been recently printed as part of a series of the *Documentos Inéditos*, to which we shall presently refer.

Many of the most interesting papers of an historical or narrative character may have been loaned to historians, and never returned to their depository, and others were perhaps abstracted as curiosities, when the value of a complete series of such documents in the archives of the nation was less appreciated than now. Most of the archives of the Spanish-American provinces have been despoiled, and are even at the present time fast disappearing. We cannot stop to quote instances that corroborate this statement, but may allude to them at another time.

The historian Muñoz, who had been officially commissioned to prepare an authentic history of America, founded on documentary evidence, had gathered, towards the close of the last century, a vast collection of copies of original papers bearing on the subject entrusted to his charge. Most of the originals were preserved in Simancas and Seville, but many were in private hands, and have since disappeared. Even this body of materials, brought together with great care and labor, was dispersed after the death of the collector, and its fragments have been slowly recovered by the Spanish Government, and are now deposited in the Library of the Academy of History in Madrid.

Don Martin Fernandez de Navarrete, who had been directed to continue the work begun by Muñoz, was instrumental in recovering the matter collected for that work, and added largely to it. He began publishing a work illustrated with documentary proofs in 1825, and had completed five volumes before his death. These volumes contain the first printed documents relating to the discovery of America by Columbus and his companions, and were eagerly welcomed by all American scholars. Washington Irving hastened to Madrid, at the request of Alexander Everett, our Minister near the Spanish Court, in order to translate the work begun by Navarrete, but soon was led into preparing his immortal Life of Columbus, in preference to a dry translation of the documentary and disconnected Spanish *Coleccion*. We know that Navarrete never could overcome his disappointment at the preference accorded to the vivid narrative of Irving by the reading public. Only the three first volumes of the *Coleccion* were translated into French, and no other translation has appeared, while Irving's work was published in almost every European language.

The work begun by Navarrete is, however, precious, and so much interest was manifested at the opening of the Spanish Archives, hitherto jealously guarded from the public eye, that the Government was induced to begin a series of volumes, entitled *Coleccion de Documentos Inéditos para la Historia de España*, in 1842, and the sixty-fifth volume appeared in 1876. Besides the papers which relate to the European history of Spain, this series contains many on purely American subjects, some of which relate to Cortes, Las Casas, to New Spain, Peru, Florida, Chili, etc. Volume vi contains a biographical notice of Don M. F. Navarette, who died in 1844, and whose name appears as one of the editors of the first two volumes. Volume xv contains a memoir by Don E. F. de Navarrete on the supposed voyages of Maldonado, De Fuca and De Fonte, illustrated by valuable notes; and volume xvi contains a memoir on Hernando Colon, and a notice of Bartolomé Colon, by the same. The great manuscript History of America by Las Casas is printed for the first time in volumes lxii to lxiv.

Another series was commenced in 1864, entitled, *Coleccion de Documentos Inéditos relativos al Descubrimiento, Conquista y Colonizacion de las Posesiones Españolas en América y Océania, sacados en mayor parte del Real Archivo de Indias*, etc., This series, as indicated by its title, contains documents relating to America and the Pacific Ocean only, and nineteen volumes had appeared in 1873. Of the deeply interesting nature of the contents of these volumes we cannot here give an idea. They must be

seen to be appreciated. Unluckily no index has appeared to either of these series, each volume containing merely a list of the documents it contains. A list of the papers in the first sixty-one volumes of the first series was printed in 1875.

Prescott was obliged to get copies of documents for his admirable works on the Conquest of Mexico and of Peru, many of which have been since printed in the series above mentioned.[2] Ternaux-Compans had collected Spanish documents on America, as well as the most extensive library of books on America ever brought together. He printed a series of twenty volumes of translations from manuscripts or rare books, and others in a single volume, and in the two volumes entitled Archives des Voyages. His manuscripts are now in private collections in this country.

Obadiah Rich, long a resident of Madrid, collected books and manuscripts on America and dealt in them afterwards in London. Although he published several volumes of American Bibliography, he never printed any inedited documents. Such as he had in 1840, passed into private collections in America, after having been offered for purchase to Congress.[3]

David B. Warden, American Consul in Paris for forty years, made collections of books on America, one of which is now at Harvard College and another in the New York State Library. He wrote the ten volumes forming the American portion of the octavo edition of the *Art de Vérifier les Dates*, which was published between 1826 and 1844. Familiar with all the sources of Spanish colonization in America, he must have had many copies of Spanish documents, but we are not able to say anything positive on the subject.

Don Vargas Ponçe, President of the Royal Academy of History in Madrid, had, like Muñoz, collected many copies of Spanish American papers, which are preserved by the Academy. Lord Kingsborough had also accumulated a number of manuscript copies of papers relating to Mexican and Peruvian Antiquities, which were sold after his death.

Buckingham Smith had collected copies of documents relating to Florida during his visits to Spain, which are now in the Library of the New York Historical Society. Some of these he gave in his Memoirs on Cabeza de Vaca, Fontañeda and De Soto. He printed a small collection of such papers in 1858, at Madrid.

Don Joaquin Garcia Icazbalceta printed at Mexico in 1858 and 1866 two fine volumes entitled *Coleccion de Documentos para la Historia de México*, which we hope to see continued. Don Pascual de Gayangos

published in 1866 a collection, partly inedited, of *Cartas y Relaciones de Hernan Cortés*, etc.

Many original documents have been purchased by bibliophiles and public libraries, which we cannot here notice for want of more accurate information. A notice of a small collection of this kind belonging to Don Hilario Cisneros, of Cuba, may be found in volume I, page 254 of this Magazine. The Archives of Cortes, Marques del Valle, are preserved in the City of Mexico, and a transcript of them was made for the Madrid Academy.

J. CARSON BREVOORT

[1] An English translation of it by Samuel Kettell appeared in 1827 in Boston.

[2] See the prefaces to these works.

[3] See biographical notice of O. Rich in Allibone's Dictionary.

CHAMPLAIN'S ASTROLABE

DISCOVERY OF AN ASTROLABE SUPPOSED TO HAVE BEEN LOST BY CHAMPLAIN IN 1613

I send herewith, as requested, a photographic representation of an astrolabe found in August, 1867, on the northeast half of lot 12, second range, township of Ross, county of Renfrew, in Ontario, Canada. The instrument is supposed to have been lost by Champlain in his expedition up the Ottawa in 1613. It is made of brass, and weighs about three pounds. Its external diameter is $5\frac{1}{16}$ inches; so that the copy is about three-fifths of the size of the original. Its thickness at the top is one-eighth, and at the bottom six-sixteenths of an inch. I am indebted for the photograph, and valuable suggestions, to the courtesy of my friend Wm. Kingsford, Esq., of the Department of Public Works in Canada. Also to Dr. Taché of Ottawa.

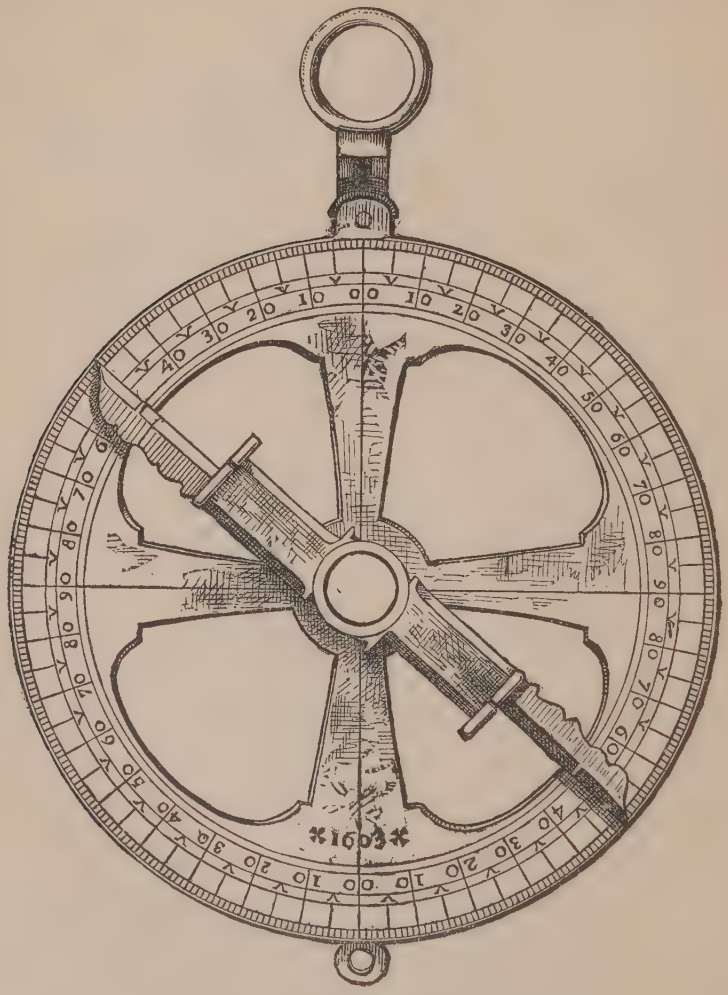
The astrolabe was found in a good state of preservation, covered with vegetation, on the old portage road, which, as a substitute for the difficult and dangerous rapids of the Ottawa, in its long detour between the present *Portage du Fort* and the upper Allumette Lake, pursues a shorter route by the way of the Muskrat and Mud Lakes.

The date inscribed on the original is 1603. Each quarter of the circular limb is divided into degrees, commencing at the top and bottom and running each way—that is, right and left, from one to ninety. A ring, attached by a hinge to the zenith, served to suspend it during an observation. A moveable index, turning on the centre, carried two sights, through which the rays of the sun could freely pass when its altitude was taken.

The astrolabe was formerly—before the invention of the Hadley quadrant—much used for astronomical purposes. A very good observation could be taken with it, if well constructed and of sufficient weight to make it steady. The proofs that the one in question belonged to Champlain, and was lost by him at the spot where it was found, though not conclusive, are strongly presumptive.

Champlain was a captain in the French marine, and had made many voyages prior to 1613, the year in which the astrolabe is supposed to have been lost. He was the author of a treatise on navigation, in which he advises navigators to become familiar with the use of the astrolabe. It is therefore quite probable that he would carry with him in his

various expeditions, the kind of instrument then in use for taking observations for the latitude. It is certain, from Champlain's narrative, that he traveled over the portage road in which the astrolabe was



found. He states that in ascending the Ottawa he reached the *Chaudiere Falls* on the 4th, the *Rapide des Chats* on the 5th and the island of *Sainte Croix* and the *Portage du Fort* on the 6th of June, 1613. At this latter place the old portage road above alluded to commenced, and in passing over it the expedition consumed a part of the 6th and the whole of the

7th of June. It was during their march on the 7th that the astrolabe is supposed to have been dropped. In describing their difficulties on that day, Champlain says: "We were greatly troubled in making this portage, being myself loaded with three arquebuses, as many paddles, my cloak and some small articles. I encouraged my men, who were loaded yet heavier, and suffered more from the musquitoes than from their burdens." Under the circumstances thus related, it is not surprising that the overburdened party should have lost some of their valuables on the way.

It further appears from the narrative, that Champlain must have had the astrolabe with him on the 30th of May and on the 4th and 6th of June, for under date of May 30th, when at the entrance of Lake St. Louis, he says: "I *took* the latitude of this place, and found it 45° 18′." Under date of June 4th, when at Chaudiere Falls, he says: "I *took* the latitude of this place, and found it to be 45° 38′." Again, on the 6th of June, when at the *Portage du Fort*, he says: "I *took* the latitude of this place, which was 46° 40′." (See Laverdière's Champlain, vol. i, pp. 444, 449 and 451.) These three latitudes could not have been *taken* without the use of an instrument.

The next latitude given by Champlain was that of the island *Des Allumettes*, a day or two after he had passed the abovementioned portage. If, however, he had lost his astrolabe, he could not have "taken" an observation, and must give it by estimation. And so he does. He says: "The island is in 47 degrees of latitude." A little further on he says: "I was in 47 degrees of latitude and 296 degrees of longitude." In neither of the last two instances does he state, as he did before he lost his instrument, "I took the latitude." The presumption is therefore strengthened that after the 7th of June, when, according to his narrative, he had passed the spot where the astrolabe was found, he was forced to *estimate* his latitude in consequence of the loss of that instrument.

O. H. MARSHALL

DIARY OF COMMODORE EDWARD PREBLE

BEFORE TRIPOLI—1804

PRELIMINARY NOTE — In October, 1871, I communicated to the American Historical Record a memorandum diary of Commodore Edward Preble, which was published in that periodical in February, 1872. Subsequently I found among the Commodore's papers a more extended diary of his operations before Tripoli. I submit a verbatim copy of the original, even to the erasures. Unfortunately some pages of the diary have been lost. The whole is in the Commodore's autograph.

GEORGE HENRY PREBLE
Brookline, Mass.

DIARY

Tuesday, July 24th, 1804—Light airs from the westward. Squadron in compy at 10 P. M. fresh breezes from S. E., which soon changed to the S. W. A. M. ordered all the water casks on board the Gun Boats and Bomb-vessels to be filled from this ship; it is a necessary precaution in case of separation, as they carry only six days' allowance of that article; at noon Tripoly bore S. W. b. S. 60 miles.

Wednesday, July 25th, 1804—Wind E. N. E., we completed watering the Bombs & Gun Boats, at 2 A. M. fell in with the Syren, at 4 saw the Argus & Enterprize, at 6 A. M. wore ship off shore, with the wind S. E. A heavy sea heaving on the coast. Tripoly in sight, bearing by compass S. W., dis. 15 miles; at 8 the Argus and Enterprize joined compy; made the following disposition for towing Gun Boats & Bombs—viz: Constitution the 2 Bombs, Argus N. 2 & 3 Gun Boats, Syren No. 5, Vixen No. 6, Nautilus No. 1, Enterprize No. 4; with this arrangement I presume we shall be able to tow them off shore in case of a Norther. Made signal for all Captains, and delivered them the orders of sailing. Lat Ob. °33 10 N.—

Thursday, July 26th, 1804—Wind N. N. E. to N. E., and a heavy sea setting on shore which makes it imprduent to approach near the coast. Tripoly bears S. S. W. about 5 Leagues; at 5 p. m. saw the Scourge in the S. W. We stood to the eastward by the wind all night, at 9 A. M. wore & bore up to the W. S. W.; the Syren Join'd compy; our squadron now consists of one Frigate, three Brigs & three Schooners, men-of-war, two Bombs and six Gun Boats, in all 15 sail, besides the Store ship; the whole are now in company. At noon the squadron becalmed 8 miles from the land, and about 5 Leagues to the eastward of Tripoly, a heavy sea setting on shore. Lat ob °33, 7 N.

Friday, July 27th, 1804—Wind N. E. Light Breeze. Squadron in compy; hoisted out the large Cutter. Rigged and armed her. Beat to Quarters, to scrape and black lead the axletrees and trucks of the Gun Carriages, continued to steer for Tripoly till 7 o'clock, when we shortened sail & brought to 4 miles from the land. Tripoly bearing by compass W.b.S. about 5 Leagues, sounded 55 faths, sandy bottom, wind E. N. E. to S. E. all night lay with main Topsails aback, head off shore; at ½ past 4 A. M. wore & stood to the S. W. for Tripoly. Land in sight to the Eastward of the Town

7 or 8 Leagues; we have had a strong easterly current all night; at noon wind E. N. E. Tripoly bearing S. W. ½ W. 4 Leagues dist, a heavy swell heaving towards the land. Surgeons Report 1 sick, 3 convalescent, 1 discharged from sick list. Delivered to each Commander the orders for anchoring before Tripoly on our arrival off the Town, viz: the fleet to anchor in two columns, in lines parallel with the shore, which trends about east & west.— The inshore column to consist of the Argus, Constitution, Vixen & Syren, at two cables length asunder, the Argus to the East, & Syren to the West of the line; the outer column two cables to the South, & to consist of the Nautilus to the West, Enterprize center, and Scourge to the eastr'd.— Store Ship 4 cables length to the Southward of the outer line; the Constitution to lead in and anchor first.

Saturday, July 28th, 1804—Moderate Breezes from the S. E. & pleasant; standing in for Tripoly at 1 p. m. observed the Batteries manned, an encampment of Troops about the South side of the Bay and 19 Gun Boats in motion, all pulling out of the Harbour towards us; ¾ past 1, the wind shifted suddenly from the S. E. to North; at 3 p. m. we came to with the small Bower in 20 fath's water, 2½ miles from the shore, the round Water Battery in range with the Bashaw Castle, the Boats all under way, but the wind blowing directly on shore and increasing, they returned into port; the squadron all came in and anchored in order, with the Gun Boats made fast to their sterns. At 5 the wind and sea increasing so much as to make it dangerous riding, made signal for Captains; they all came on board; at 6 the Capt's all returned to their respective ships. As it was thought prudent to get under way, made the signal to prepare; at 7 P. M. sign'l to weigh, by ½ past 7 they were all under way. At 8 we weighed and stood to the N. N. W., wind N. E. and more moderate, but an increasing sea; at 10 p. m. several of the fleet in sight; stood off to the N. N. W. all night, at day light wore & stood for Tripoly. Wind E. N. E. At 11 hauls off to the Northward, & brought to to discharge the Store Ship of water & provisions, and to supply the squadron with powder, shot & other military and naval stores. Lat Obs. °33. 3 N.

Sunday, July 29th, 1804 — Wind N. E., lying to with the Squadron, discharging the Store Ship. Tripoly bearing S. S. W., dis't 4 Leagues, the sea too rough to approach the Town with our Bombs or Gun Boats; at 7 p. m. closed the Squadron. Tripoly in sight, bearing S. ½ W. 6 Leagues, hoisted our Boats in, lay to all night, wind strong from E. b. S. and a very rough sea; the weather we have experienced for several days past has been uncommonly tempestuous for the season; at 5 A. M. made the signal to wear ship & bring to the wind on the Larboard tack; we wore and 3d Reef'd the Topsails, wind S. E. b. E. at 10 A. M. land about Tripoly in sight S. b. E., 5 or 6 Leagues dis't; at 11 the wind abated, took the store ship in tow to facilitate the discharging her cargo. Brought to with the Squadron, sent Boats with officers & men to assist furnishing the necessary supplies for the men-of-war. At noon wind E. b. S., strong breezes. Observed in Latd 33° 9′ No.; suppose Tripoly to bear So 5

Leagues, but the atmosphere so close & thick that we cannot see the land.—

Monday, July 30th, 1804—Wind E. S. E., moderate, but a heavy swell; the Boats of the Squadron employ'd in discharging the store ship, but the sea so rough as to render our progress rather slow. Sent fuzes, [——] pretty quick match for the shells on board the Bombs, and shott on board the different vessels to which the Gun Boats are attach'd; at 7 p. m. it blew a fresh gale; cast off the Store ship & in Boats; filled away to the Southward, at 8 p. m. wore with the Squadron & stood to the N. N. E., wind East, under double reef'd sails, stood off all night; at 5 A. M. wore to the Northward, & stood for the land; wind from east to S. E., variable. At noon obsd in Lat 33° 10 No. Tripoly bearing S. b. E., 6 Leagues dis't.

Tuesday, July 31, 1804—Wind E. S. E. to N. E., very variable, and a rough sea; standing to the Southward by the wind, under double Reef'd Topsails; Squadron all in sight; at 1 p. m. saw the City of Tripoly, bearing S. b. E ½ E., dis't 5 Leagues.— Stood in S. E., with the wind E. S. E., until 4 p. m.; then wore ship to the Northward.— Tripoly S. S. E., 3 Leagues; at ½ past 6 p. m. the wind shifted to the N. E. b. N., & blew a gale, split our Fore-sail & Main Topsail; sent down Top Galt Yard, and made the signal for the Squadron to do the same, unbent the split sails, and brought others to the yards; by 8 p. m. we were under a reef'd Fore Sail & closed reef'd M'n Top Sail, the wind blowing very heavy, and a rough sea; from 8 p. m. to 2 A. M. the wind veer'd round gradually to the S. E., until it got to E. b. S., then shifted suddenly in a squall to the N. N. E. Stood to the N. W. until day light, then wore to the S. E. and made more sail, the squadron all in sight, but much scattered, at noon wind N. E. b. E., steering S. E. b. E.— Lat Obsd 33° 18′ No. Tripoly bearing by calculation S. S. E. ¼ E., 28 miles. I ordered the Fore sail & M'n Top sail, which were split last night, to be ripped out of the Bolt rope and turn'd into the Sailmaker as old canvas, considering them not trustworthy.

Wednesday, August 1st, 1804—Wind N. E., steering by the wind on the Larb'd Tack; all the Squadron in sight at ½ past 3 p. m. Tripoly in sight, bearing S. b. E.; the weather very unsettled, and a rough sea; wore ship to the N. N. W.; at 5 p. m. made the signal for the Squadron to close to prevent separation; in the night the wind moderated; at 5 a. m. wore to the S. E., at 8 sent up Top Gall't yard, out large boats and completed discharging the Store Ship; at noon we obs'd in Lat'd 33° 13′ No. Tripoly bearing S. S. E., 7 Leagues dist.; wind E. N. E., very light.

Thursday, August 2d, 1804—Wind E. N. E.; supplied the vessels of the Squadron with a large quantity of Provisions & stores in the evening, the wind came from the S. E. Stood to the E. N. E. all night; in the morning calm; ordered Lt. Dent, Commander of the Scourge, with 30 of his crew to join the two Bombs, which, with the Neopolitans on board of them, completes their crews; ordered Lt. Wadsworth & Mr. Morris (Master) of the Scourge to join this Ship. Wadsworth to do duty as a Lt. on board and Morris to serve in the Boats. Sent

off the Store Ship to Malta under convoy of the Scourge, in charge of Lt. Izard, who is to see her safe into some port in Malta, and return to this Station; the Scourge has 36 men on board, including officers. At noon, Latd 33° 11′ No, discharged from the service Louis Baslau, a Seaman, & sent him to Malta in the Store Ship on account of indispotion and his pleading that he was a frenchman. Tripoly bears S. b. E., dis't 6 Leagues.

Friday, August 3d, 1804—Wind E. S. E. to E. b. N.; exercised the Bomb vessels & threw some shells; fresh Breezes & pleasant; during the night we had fresh gales, lay to with the ship's head to the N. E.: in the morning wore & stood for the land. Tripoly about 4 Leagues dis't —Bearing S. S. W. at 3 A. M., wind E. b. N. At noon we were within two miles of Tripoly, which is defended by Batteries, mounted with 67 Heavy Cannon, pointing seaward, and 22 Gun Boats, each carrying a piece of heavy Brass ordnance, besides small cannon, muskets, Pistols, Pikes &c., and man'd with 30 to 50 men each; they have also an armed Brig, two armed schooners in the port, full of men. I made the signal to wear and haul off and immediately after the signal to come within hale, & cleared ship for action & beat to quarters.—& made signal to prepare for Battle, intending to attack their Gun Boat & the City, as I observed their Boats without the Rocks.

Saturday, August 4th, 1804—Wind E. b. S. Standing off shore on the Starbor'd tack, the Signal out to come within hail, spoke the different vessels, and acquainted their Commanders that it was my intention to attack the shipping & Batteries, directed Gun Boats & Bombs to be prepared for immediate service; at 12½ p. m. Tack'd & stood for the Batteries. Back'd the Main Top Sail, at ½ 1 p. m. made the general signal to follow the motions of the Commodore, filled the Main-top-sail & stood in towards the Batteries; at ¼ past 2 general signal for Battle; the whole squadron advanc'd to within point Blunt shot of the Enemies Batteries & shipping, our Gun Boats in two divisions, the 1st consisting of 3 Boats, Commanded by Capt. Somers, the 2d of three Boats by Capt. Decatur; at ¾ past 2 the action commenced on our side by throwing a shell into the town, and in an instant the whole Squadron were engaged. The enemies Gun Boats were anchored with springs on in three divisions; the Eastern or van division consisted of 9 Boats, the centre of 7 Boats and the Western or rear of 5 Boats; as the wind was from the eastward, our Boats were ordered to lead in to windward and attack the Enemy; the Rear & Center division of the Enemies Boats are close under their Batteries, and the van division, consisting of their largest Boats, are within grape distance of the Bashaws Castle & fort English. At 3 observed our Gun Boats engaged in close action with the enemies Boats; while a tremendous fire was kept up by this ship and the rest of the Squadron, Capt Decatur with No 4, Lt Tripp of No 6 & Lt Bainbridge of No 5, Lt James Decatur of No 2 attacked the enemy's Boats within pistol shot; No 1, Capt Somers, fell to Leeward, but fetched up with the enemys rear of 5 Boats, which he gal-

lantly attacked, disabled & drove in, although within pistol shot of the Batteries. No. 3, Lt Blake, did not go into close action; had he come, probably they would have captured the rear Boats; Capt Decatur Boarded, and after a stout and obstinate resistance took possession of two of the enemies Gun Boats; Lt Tripp Boarded and carried a third, Lt James Decatur in the act of Boarding to take possession of a fourth Boat was shot through the head & mortally wounded, the officer next in command (Mr Brown) haul'd off. Lt Bainbridge had his latten yard shot away early in the action, which prevented him from taking a Boat, but he galled the enemy by a steady fire within musket shot; indeed he pursued the enemy until his Boat touched the ground under the Batteries. The Bombs kept their stations, which were well chosen by Lt Dent & Lt Robinson, who commanded them, and threw a number of shells into the town, altho the spray of the sea occasioned by the enemies shots almost covered them; three different times the enemies Gun Boats rallied and attempted to surround ours; I as often made the signal to cover them, which was properly attended to by the Brigs & Schooners, and the fire from this ship not only had the desired effect on the enemies flotilla by keeping them in check and disabling them, but silenced one of their principal Batteries for some time; at ½ past 4 p. m. made the signal for the Bombs to retire from action out of gun shot, and a few minutes after the general Signal to cease firing and tow out the Prizes & disabled Boats. Sent our Barge and Jolly Boat to assist in that duty, tack'd ship & fired two Broadsides in stays, which drove the Tripolins out of the Castle, & brought down the steeple of a mosque; by this time the wind began to freshen from N. E.; at 4¾ p. m. haul'd off to take the Bombs in tow; at 5 p. m. Brought to, two miles from their Batteries. Rec'd Lt. James Decatur on board from Gun Boat No 2; he was shot through the head (in Boarding a Tripoline Boat which had struck to him); he expired in a few moments after he was brought into the ship.— We lay to until 10 P. M. to receive the Prisoners on board captured in the Prizes, then made sail, & stood off to the N. E., the wind veering to the E. S. E. We have all the Surgeons of the Squadron on board dressing the wounded— During the action we fired 262 Round Shot, besides Grape, double head & Canister from this Ship, and were several times within 3 cables lengths of the Rocks & Batteries, where our soundings were from 12 to 16 fath.; the officers, Seamen & Marines of the Squadron behaved gallantly throughout the action. Capt Decatur in Gun Boat No 4 particularly distinguished himself—as did Lt Tripp of No 6. Our loss in killed & wounded has been considerable; the damage we rec'd in this ship is a 24 pound shot nearly through the center of the main mast 20 feet from the Deck, Main Top Gallant, R. Yard & Sail shot away, one of the Fore shrouds and the sails & running rigging considerably cut, one of the 24 pounders on the Quarter deck was struck by a 24 pound shot, which damaged the gun & carriage and shattered the arm of a Marine to pieces; Gun Boat No 2 had her latteen yard shot away, & the Rigging & Sails of the Brigs

& Schooners were considerably cut. We captured 3 Gun Boats, two of which carried each a long Brass 24 pounder, two Brass Howitzers, and 36 men, with a plenty of Muskets, Pistols, Pikes, Sabres &c.; the other mounted a long Brass 18 pounder, two Howitzers & 24 men. 44 Tripolins were killed on board of the 3 Boats, and 52 made prisoners, 26 of which were wounded, 17 of them very badly, 3 of which died soon after they were brought on board; the enemy must have suffered very much in killed & wounded among their [crews] and on shore ; one of their Boats was sunk in the Harbour, several of them had their decks nearly cleared of men by our shot, and several shells burst in the Town which must have done great execution.

We have lost in Killed & wounded viz.—

Killed	Wounded
Lt James Decatur	Capt Decatur slight
	Lt Tripp severely
	10 Seamen & Marines wounded

Total 1 Officer Killed
2 Officers Wounded
10 Seamen & Marines wounded
13

Sunday, August 5th, 1804 — Fresh Breezes E. b N. at Anchor 7 or 8 miles from the City of Tripoly, bearing south. Squadron and prizes in company; every one busily employed in preparing for another attack on Tripoly, the Argus in chase of a small vessel to the Westward; at 1 p. m. the Argus brought the chase within hail and anchored; she is a french privateer of 4 guns, sail'd from Tripoly for water, being in distress for that article. I prevail'd on him for a consideration in provisions to convey 14 badly wounded Tripoline prisoners to Tripoly, which I put on board him, with a letter to the French Consul & one to the Prime Minister; at ½ past 1 p. m. made signal for all Captains. At 2 p. m. the Body of Lt James Decatur was committed to the deep with the usual Military honors. His funeral was attended by the Officers of the Squadron; at 6 a. m. the French privateer weigh'd & stood into the Harbour. Ordered our three spare Top Galt Masts for masts for the Prize Gun Boats, all hands employed in Rigging & fitting them for service; they each carry a Brass Cannon of 27 lb Ball and 2 Brass Howitzers. Caused General Orders of thanks to be read on board each vessel of the Squadrons.

Monday, August 6th, 1804—At Anchor 2 Leagues north of Tripoly with the Squadron; employed this ship's Company in Fitting the Prize Boats, & supplying the Squadron with Provisions, Water & Military Stores; all the Sailmakers in the Squadron are employ'd in making sails for the Prizes; the Vixen was kept under way all night making false signals to alarm the enemy; at noon wind N. N. W.

Tuesday, August 7th, 1804—Wind N. b. W., cloudy, at anchor off Tripoly—making arrangements for a second attack; at ½ past 1 made signal to prepare to weigh,—but falling calm, annulled the signal—in the evening the French Privateer came out; at 11 the French Capt came on board with a letter from the Consul of his nation,—in which he do say our attack of the 3d has disposed the Bashaw to accept of reason-

able terms, and invites me to send a Boat to the Harbour as a flag, but as no specific sum is mentioned and no security for the Boat can be depended on, I declined the invitation.— At 9 a. m. the Squadron weighed pr signal & stood in shore towards the Western Batteries.— the Gun Boats, 9 in number, with the addition of the Prizes, now completely fitted & manned, and commanded by Lt Crane of the Vixen, Thorn of the Enterprize and Caldwell of the Syren, the whole advanced with sails & oars, with orders to attack the western Batteries & throw shells into the City; at this time we were at anchor 6 miles from the City; calm and a current so strong to the eastward that. we remain at anchor, our Top Sails & Top Galt Sails are sett ready for the first Breeze. The Argus, Syren, Vixen, Nautilus & Enterprize becalmed three miles within us.— Gun Boats & Bombs advancing to the attack.

Wednesday, August 8th, 1804 — At anchor 6 miles N. N. E. from Tripoly becalmed, the Gun Boats & Bombs advancing with all their Sweeps; at ½ past 1 a light Breeze from the N. N. E. we immediately weigh'd & stood in for the Town, but the wind being on shore, could not with prudence attack or allow any of the Squadron to attack the Batteries, as in case of a mast being shot away the loss of the vessel would probably ensue; at ½ past 2 made the signal for the Gun Boats & Bombs to attack the Batteries & Town from the west, where they immediately opened a tremendous fire within half cannon shot of the Town & less than that distance of a Battery of 7 heavy 24 pounders; this Battery in less than two hours was silenced excepting one gun. I presume the others were dismounted, as the walls were almost totally destroyed; the Bombs were well and effectually employed [by] Lt Comdr Dent & Lt Robinson of the Constitution. Lt Robinson from a dangerous position he took threw 28 shells into the Town, but the well directed fire of heavy artillery from the enemy obliged him to shift his station, not however until the cloths of every man in the Boat was wet through with the spray of sea which the Enemies shot threw over them. Lt Dent threw 20 shells from a position not so favorable as Lt Robinson's, but which the strong westerly current in shore would not allow him to change; at ¼ past 3 p. m. a Frigate in sight in the offing, standing for the Town; made the Argus Signal to speak, ordered her to chase the strange Sail; at ½ past 3 p. m. the magazine of one of our Gun Boats, No 9, Blew up, & she immediately sunk— She had on board thirty officers, Seamen & Marines, 10 of which were Killed and Six badly wounded, among the Killed were Lt R. Caldwell, 1st of the Syren and Mr Dorsey, Midshipman, two good officers— Mr. Spence, Midshipman, & 13 men were picked up unhurt. The enemies Gun Boats and Galleys, 17 in number, are all in motion under their Batteries, and appear to meditate an attack on our Bombs & Gun Boats; ordered the Argus, Nautilus, Vixen & Enterprize to windward in reserve to cut them off from the Harbour, if they should attack, & the Syren & Vixen to leward to support and cover any of our Boats that might be disabled. Kept to windward with the Constitution

+ A descendant of the Patriot of New Hampshire His father was a prisoner [illegible] at the time

ready to bear down & support the whole; at ½ past [——] p. m. the wind began to blow fresh from the N. N. E. made the signal for Bombs & Gun Boats to retire out of gun shot of the enemy and be taken in tow by their respective vessels — at 6 p. m. Argus made the signal that the strange sail was a friend; in the action of this day No 6, Commanded by Lt. Wadsworth, had her Latteen yard shot away, No 4, Capt Decatur, a shot in the Hull, No 8 lost 2 men Killed by a cannon shot, some of the other Boats received trifling damage; the Gun Boats fired about 50 Rounds each; the enemy must have lost many men, & the buildings in the City must have received considerable damage from our shot & shells; all the Officers & men engaged in action behaved gallantly; at ¾ past 6 all the Boats were in tow and the Squadron standing off to the N. W.; at 8 the John Adams, Store Ship, Capt Chauncey, joined company,—at 9 being N. W. about 5 miles from Tripoly, made signal to anchor & came to with the Squadron in 35 fath's water, hard Bottom.— Capt Chauncey came on board & brought me dispatches from the Navy O ce announcing that 4 frigates, the President, Commodore Barron, who is to supercede me in the command of the Mediterranean Squadron, the Congress, Capt Rodgers, Constellation, Capt Campbell, and Essex, Capt Barron, were ready and would sail in a day or two after the John Adams. Capt Chauncey brought me a letter from the Navy Office approving my conduct, and stating that the supercedure has been necessary to enable them to send the frigates out, as only two junior Captains to myself were in the U. S. He also brought me the thanks of the President for my services, which have been conveyed to me by letter from the Secty of the Navy; how much my feelings are lacerated by this supercedure at the moment of victory cannot be described and can be felt only by an officer placed in my mortifying situation. Gave Capt Chauncey orders to remain with the Squadron for the present.—

Thursday, August 9th, 1804—Wind N. W., at anchor with the Squadron N. W. from Tripoly 5 or 6 miles, supplying the Gun Boats & Bomb vessels with ammunition and stores.—at 3 p. m. went on board the Argus to reconnoitre the Harbour of Tripoly, stood in for the Eastern Batteries, the enemy fired several shot, one of which was near sinking us, as it struck below the water line and raked the copper down the Bottom, at 3½ p. m. made the signal for the Squadron to weigh and haul off, the wind blowing fresh from N. N. E.—At 6 p. m. joined the Constitution; a small Ketch stole into the Harbour under the eastern shore while we were reconnoitering, the shoals prevented our cutting her off; fresh Breezes all night; in the morning calm, at 9 a. m. anch'd with the Squadron, 36 faths, 5 miles N. N. E. from the Town; at 10 a. m. the French Consul hoisted a french Flag & white flag under it at his Flag Staff on shore, in consequence of which I hoisted similar colours on Board the Argus & stood in near the Town & sent a Boat into the Harbour with a flag of truce, and a letter for the Prime Minister, one for Capt. Bainbridge, inclosing an Invoice of Clothing provided by Mr.

Cathcart, and a letter to the French Consul.—The Scourge join'd comp'y; Lt. Izard reported that he convoyed the store ship safe into Malta.

Friday, August 10th, 1804—Wind N. N. E. to E. N. E.; at anchor 2 Leagues N. N. E. from Tripoly—all the Squadron at anchor excepting the Argus & Vixen as Guard ships;—at ½ past 12, noon, observed the French Flag with a white flag under it hoisted at the staff on Top of the French Consul's House in Tripoly; I ordered the Argus and Vixen to answer the signal by hoisting similar flags, I then sent a Boat into the Harbour with flag of truce; Mr. O'Brien went in as officer of the Boat; at 3 p. m. the Boat returned and brought me a letter from the french consul advising me to offer the Bashaw 150 thousand dollars for ransom of the Prisoners & make peace; that I did not think proper to do, presuming that our Government might not be satisfied with the terms, altho it is my opinion that we shall not be able to obtain them for a less sum. moderate all night; all the squadron employed in preparing for a third attack; at 11½ a. m. the French Consul hoisted the french and white flags; sent a Boat into the Harbour with a flag of truce and a letter authorizing the F. Consul to offer the Bashaw 100,000 doils. for Ransom of the Prisoners, 10,000 as a consular Present, nothing for peace and no tribute; these terms were rejected.

Saturday, August 11th, 1804—Wind E. b. N. light Breezes, held commuication with the french Consul in Tripoly by means of flag of truce, but without any effect, the Bashaw's demands are too extravagant to be complied with. Rec'd on board sundry stores from the John Adams.

Sunday, August 12th, 1804—Moderate Breezes E. b. N., lying to 3 or 4 miles to the N. N. E. of Tripoly, the John Adams at anchor 2 Leagues out to prevent the Tripolines from discovering that she has but a few guns, everything is in order throughout the squadron for an attack on Tripoly this night, the enemy has two Galleys, a schooner of 10 guns and 16 gun Boats moored in the Harbour in a line abreast from east to west, heads to the Northward to defend it, a swell heaving on shore prevents our attempting anything at present; anchor'd in 26 fath's water, Tripoly bearing south 3 miles; from day light to 7 a. m. calm, at 8 a Breeze from N. b. E., the swell increasing, ordered all the squadron under way to stand off from the land.—

Monday, August 13th, 1804—Wind N. E., a heavy swell setting on shore, haul'd of to the N. N. W. with the Squadron, at 6 p. m. signal to close to prevent separation,—at 10 the wind veered to the E. S. E., haul'd up to the N. E. and stood off all night under easy sail,—at 4 a. m. wore ship and stood for the land at day light, Tripoly in sight bearing S. b. W. 5 Leagues dis't. we are now waiting for a favorable night to attack Tripoly, the wind must be to southward of east and sea perfectly smooth to enable us to attack with any prospect of success—at noon Tripoly bears S. b. W. 5 miles, wind E. N. E., and a considerable swell setting on shore.—

Tuesday, August 14th, 1804—Wind E. b. S., standing off and on 4 or 5

miles from Tripoly, at 6 p. m. all the squadron were in close order, ready to push in after dark, the John Adams manoeuvred several deceptions pr. signal for weighing and standing in with the squadron, but as soon as dark she was ordered to haul sails & remain at anchor. Capt. Chauncey, with several of his officers & 50 seamen & marines came on board as Volunteers for the attack, at 9 p. m, the wind freshened from S. b. N., and increased the sea so much as to make an attempt imprudent. I accordingly stood off shore and anchor'd in 37 fath's water. Capt. Chauncey with his officers & men returned to the Jno. Adams, two of our Gun Boats carried away their latteen yards, supplied them with new ones, we had strong Breezes all night and until noon.

Lat'd obs'd 33–2 No.—

Wednesday, August 15th, 1804 — Strong Breezes from E. S. E., at anchor 6 miles to the north of Tripoly, ordered the Vixen to cast off her Gun Boats & Look out to the eastward & the Jno. Adams to take her Boats in tow,—at 4 p. m. down Royal & Top Gall't Yards, fresh Breezes through the night,—at 10 a. m. wind E. b. N. and a rough sea. Lat'd. obs'd 33° 2′ No.—

Thursday, August 16th, 1804—Fresh Breezes from E. b. N., at anchor N. b. E. ½ E. from Tripoly, all the squadron at anchor except the Vixen on the look out to the eastward.—at 8½ p. m. the Enterprise sail'd for Malta, under command of Lt. Lawrence, with Mr. Higgins, directing him to send transports with water & Vegetables, the scurvy has made its appearance among the men on board of some of the vessels of the squadron, and our fresh water is getting short. —Surgeons report 6 sick, 4 convalescent.—

Friday, August 17th, 1804—Moderate Breezes from E. N. E. and pleasant weather ; at anchor 5 miles to the N. b. W. of Tripoly ; at 3 p. m. out all Boats and armed them for an attack ; at 5 p. m. all the squadron excepting the John Adams and Scourge were under way, standing for Tripoly ; by this time the wind had veered to N. E. b. E., and the current setting strong to the Westward ; in the evening Capt. Chauncey with several officers & 50 Seamen from the John Adams came on board, volunteers for the intended attack; at 7 p. m. we were 4 miles from the Town. Tacking and manoeuvering the Squadron, waiting for the wind to come from the E. S. E.; from 8 to 9 p. m. we stood in for the Batteries with a light Breeze from E. b. N.; at 9¾ almost calm, the Town fire bearing S. b. W. So, the Batteries fired 11 shot at us which fell short, the current setting to the S. W., pressing us down on the Western Batteries and the wind very light. I thought it prudent to haul off; at 11 p. m. wore ship and stood in again for the Town in hopes the wind might increase, the enemy fired 14 shot at us from their Batteries which fell short, it being by this time past midnight and almost calm, haul'd off and at 1 made the signal to anchor, and come to in 25 fath's. Tripoly S. b. W., 3 miles dist.

Saturday, August 18th, 1804—Wind N. E.; we are at anchor 3 miles N. b. E. from the Town of Tripoly, we have our guns all clear,—Boats all out and armed, and

everything prepared for at attack the moment the wind & sea are favorable.— At 8 p. m. I sent Capt. Decatur & Capt. Chauncey in two small Boats to reconnoitre the Harbour and examine the situation of their Gun Boats; at midnight they returned and reported that they rowed to the western rock, within musket shot of the enemies sentinels, and that all the Gun Boats were in the mole, moored in a line abreast with heads to the Eastward;—by 1 a. m. the wind had shifted to the S. E. (which blows out of the Harbour) the sea was smooth but the current strong to the westward, which concludes us to defer an attack until some better opportunity, as the Boats would not be able to reach their stations before day light.—At day light the wind suddenly shifted to the N. N. W., which immediately brought a heavy swell on shore, the sky was clouded and appearances of a gale, made the signal for the fleet to weigh & gain an offing.—At 7 a. m. weigh'd and made sail to work off shore.—At 11½ a. m. double reef'd the Top-sails, fresh breezes and a rough sea,—at noon Tripoly S. b. E., 3 Leagues dis't.—

Sunday, August 19th, 1804—Wind N. W.; at 1 p. m., wore to the N. E. & brought to for the Squadron, Capt. Chauncey with his officers & crew rejoined the John Adams. Hoisted in all our Boats, and made signal for all Boats to join their respective ships—at 5 p. m. the wind north, stood to the E. N. E. with the fleet.—at midnight wore to the W. N. W., signal was made to the Squadron to do the same.—fresh Breezes & a rough sea,—at 6 a. m. sounded 75 fath's water, sandy bottom, we have now an offing of 8 or 10 Leagues from Tripoly.—moderate Breezes all the fore noon, with an ugly swell setting towards the coast.— Tripoly at noon bore S. b. W. ½ W., 9 Leagues dis't.— The clouds are dispersing, and the weather appears favorable for a change of wind.

Lat'e Obs'd 33° 19′ No.

Monday, August 20th, 1804—Moderate Breezes from the N. E. with a heavy setting to the N. N. W., standing to the N. N. W. with the fleet.—Tripoly bearing S. S. E., 9 or 10 Leagues—at 1 p. m. a strange sail was discovered from the John Adams in the E. N. E., made the Argus signal to cast off her Gun Boats & chase—made the John Adams signal to tow the Argus' Boats, at 4 p. m. the Argus brought the chase to, made the signal to bring her down to me, at 6 the Argus & chase joined company, she proved to be the U. S. Ketch Intrepid, from Syracuse, with water and fresh stock for the Squadron, she brought me letters from Mr. Dyson & Mr. Higgins, the latter informs me that an English vessel left Malta on the 12th inst. with 190 Butts of water & some live stock for the Squadron; we are in great want of the water, but I fear some accident has happened to her to prevent her arrival, as the wind has been constantly fair for several days past,—at 12 midnight the wind E. b. S., steered to the S. b. E.—at 2½ a. m. the wind S. S. E., wore ship to the East.—at 5½ a. m. wind S. E., wore to the S. S. W.—at 8 a. m. all sail sett for the Land.—at 9 a. m. ordered the Argus to the Eastward to look out for the storeship expected (from Malta), sent the Vixen to the Westward on the same errand, ordered

Annexure-II

Certificate to be submitted by the Applicant

I hereby certify that I have not applied for the post of Lecturer in Physics in any other Institution/College/University.

Date: 27.7.2018

Signature of the Applicant

Name: Dinesh Kumar Gurjar

Father's Name: Bhanwar Lal Gurjar

all the fleet on allowance of water, 2 Quarts pr. day, cooking & grog water included.—The prisoners at 1 quart pr. day, which is more than an equal proportion, as they are not exposed to the sun and have no work to do.—At noon we were about 5 Leagues from the coast. Tripoly bearing S. E. b. S. Lat. 33° 4′ No.

Tuesday, August 21st, 1804—Moderate Breezes from the E. S. E. and pleasant weather.—standing in for the coast off Tripoly, all the Squadron in comp'y excepting the Argus on the look out to the Eastward. At 1 p. m. the Town of Tripoly in sight, bearing by compass S. E. b. S., 4 Leagues; an unexpected westerly current has carried the Squadron 4 or 5 Leagues farther to leeward than we expected, carrying a press of sail all night to gain our station off the Town. Wind variable in the night, by 7 a. m. the wind had shifted from E. S. E. to South, Tripoly bearing S. W. b. S., 5 Leagues.—At 9 a. m. saw a strange sail in the S. E. quarter, gave chase, made signal for the Argus and Vixen to chase; the other vessels of the Squadron repeating; at 11½. they bore up to comply with the signal.

Wednesday, August 22d, 1804.—Wind W. N. W., Light Breeze, in chase to S. E., made the signal for the Jno. Adams to act discretionary. At 3 p. m. brought to the chase, a Maltese ship from Malta, with a supply of water, Live stock & vegetables,—at 5 p. m. wind shifted to the S. E., the Argus was ordered to tow the store ship; at 7 p. m. we were 4 Leagues from Tripoly, standing for the [———] Jno Adams, Syren, Scourge & Nautilus at anchor.

AMERICUS VESPUCIUS

I

LETTER OF AMERRIGO VESPUCCI TO THE CARDINAL ARCHBISHOP OF TOLEDO (JIMÉNES DE CISNEROS) GIVING HIS OPINION UPON THE COMMODITIES PROPER TO BE CARRIED TO THE ANTILLES ISLANDS. SEVILLA, 9 OF DECEMBER 1508

Translated for the Magazine from Cartas de Indias. Madrid 1877

Very reverend and magnificent Lord.

I am so desirous to justify the confidence I receive from your most reverend highness that I shall not hesitate to express my opinion, although I am moved by no personal interest whatever and there is no profit to gain from what I may say, and I now answer as to what should be carried to the islands, whether it be better that it should go by one hand and your Highness receive the profit of it, as the King of Portugal has done in the case of the Mina del oro,* or whether as I believe I understand to be the opinion of your Highness, every one should be free to take thither whatever he may choose.

I find a great difference between the trade of the King of Portugal and this; since the one was to send to the Moorish country, and to one place only, one or two commodities, valued at a certain price, for which his factors there were to respond with value of the same price or with merchandize. Here it is quite the contrary, since in that which should be carried to the islands there is a variety of all sorts of things of which persons may have need, clothing stuffs as well as clothing and many things necessary for buildings and farms, of which they take no account or

thought ; so that I consider that it would be very difficult, if not impossible, for your Highness to arrange it in this manner, especially as many of the things which are necessary for the islands must be carried thither from other places than here; such, for instance, as the Canary and Portugese islands, from which they receive cattle, provisions and other necessities ; and for each thing a factor will be necessary, and of many of them no account can be kept, because some of them are consumed, some damaged, and others destroyed ; and for this reason, it seems to me, that this business cannot be transacted in the said manner, and if there be expectations that it may, I appeal to time for my witness.

If, however, your Highness desire to take any profit, from the entry of merchandize which may be carried to the islands, without care or cost, one of two ways occurs to me ; the one, to put a certain duty on every thing which is carried to the islands, such as may seem fit to your Highness, and every one be free to carry thither whatever he may choose ; the other is to entrust this business to merchants, who will share the profits with your Highness and supply everything needful without any care to your Highness, and this rule should govern such a company ; that the treasurer of your Highness in the said islands should be charged to look to the receipt and sale of the merchandize which may be sent thither in conjunction with the factor of the merchants, each one keeping his books, in which by his hands shall be set down an account of all that is sold.

And that an account shall be kept of the cost of all the merchandize which may be sent in each vessel, certified to by the Merchant and the Treasurer or other factor deputed by his Highness at Seville or in Cadiz, in order that, by it, an account may be closed in the islands of all that may be taken over by each vessel, and each may take his share of the profits, paying to the merchant his share of the merchandize with cost and freight, that thus order and accord may be had and no fraud or deceit be possible ; and as regards such things as may be brought hither from thence and from the islands above mentioned, and to know the cost thereof, the merchants and the factor of your Highness at Seville or Cadiz may confide the case to such person as they may judge proper.

This, with deference to those who know more than I, is my opinion.

From Seville, the 9th day of December, fifteen hundred and eight.

I humbly kiss the hands of your most reverend Highness.

AMERRIGO VESPUCCI
master pilot.

Endorsement.—To the most reverend and magnificent Señor Cardinal of Spain, Archbishop of Toledo.

[1] *San Jorge de la Mina ó Elmina.* A factory and fortress on the northern coast of the Gulf of Guinea ; situated in 5° south and 15° 30′ east of the meridian of Teneriffe.

NOTE.—The original text of this letter, with a translation, and an introduction by Mr. George Dexter, has been recently reprinted from the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Our own translation and the illustrations were prepared some time previous, but their publication delayed by the press of matter upon the columns of the Magazine. EDITOR.

II

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF AMERRIGO VESPUCCI

Translated from Biographical Notes to Cartas de Indias

Amerrigo Vespucci, son of Anastasio Vespucci and Isabel Mini, was born at Florence, the 9th of March, 1541; he was brought up by his uncle, Jorge Antonio Vespucci, a monk of the community of San Márcos, and according to the most authentic documents, lived in Seville until 1495 either as a factor or partner of his fellow citizen Juanoto Berardi, of whose business he seems to have taken charge upon his death, which occurred in December of the same year. In 1499, in the capacity of pilot, he accompanied Alonzo de Hojeda on the first voyage which he made to discover new lands in the West Indies, an expedition from which they returned about the middle of the year 1500. From that time until 1505 it is supposed that Vespucci lived in Portugal, and that he may have sailed with the Portuguese, yet it is very doubtful whether he made all the voyages upon which his impostures are founded; but what may certainly be believed, because clearly proved, is that from 1505 until 1512, when he died, he was always in Spain; that in the first of these years he was summoned to the side of King Don Fernando to inform him concerning the projects of the Portuguese, concerning our (the Spanish) dominions in the Indies, and went to the city of Toro, where the court was that season, and received from the King as a reward for his services and those which he rendered later as Cosmographer to the Crown a naturalization as a Spanish subject, the 25th April, 1505, and twelve thousand maravédis extra gratification; that soon afterwards he was charged, with Vicente Yañez Pinzon, with the fitting out of a fleet to discover the "birthplace of the spice land (nacimento de la Especeria)," an expedition which fell through in 1507, by reason of the reclamations of the King of Portugal; Amerrigo, in consequence remaining in his house at Seville, looking after the fitting out and armament of the vessels, and being in direct and constant correspondence with the Court at Castile. It is equally certain that Don Fernando appointed him Master Pilot (piloto mayor), with a salary of fifty thousand maravédis and twenty-five thousand as additional gratification on the 22d of March, 1508; this office did not require service at sea, and from the aforenamed year, 1505, Amerrigo Vespucci never went to sea; and that he died at Seville the 22d of February, 1522, Juan Diaz de Solis succeeding him in the office of Pilot.

Amerrigo married Maria Cerezo, who could have given him no son because of her death, which occcurred the 20th of December, 1524. She made over to her sister, Calatina Cerezo, an income or pension of ten thousand maravédis, which she enjoyed. As for Juan Vespucci, nephew of Amerrigo, he was appointed Pilot the 22d of May, 1512, with a salary of twenty thousand maravédis, and after having obtained other employments and several increases of salary, he was for ill conduct disgraced and discharged in March, 1525.

By an unjust caprice of fortune the

name of Amerrigo Vespucci has been immortalized, given, perhaps without his claiming it, to the extensive regions which the Spaniards discovered in the New World. Some fantastic reports which he sent to his Italian friends before 1505, added to and commentated by some writers no less fantastic, and which were spread over Europe, were the cause of all this; later, persons cognizant of the authentic writings which circulated in Spain concerning the discoveries, began about 1509 to call the land to which the reports referred, the land of Amerrigo, of Américo, or Américas, while our nation continued to give it the name of the Indies without making any correction of the former, until, by the lapse of time, the imposition was commonly accepted.

Such is the caprice of fortune!

III

THE SIGNATURE OF VESPUCCI

Translated from Biographical Notes to Cartas de Indias

In the greater number of the numerous documents which refer to Amerrigo Vespucci the word is written in these different ways. In one letter, the third of those which he wrote to Lorenzo de Medicis, dated in 1504, and published in Latin in 1505, in which he referred to his voyage to the Indies, he styles himself AMERICUS VESPUTIUS; in the relation of the *Cuatro Navegaciones* (M. F. Navarrete, vol. iii, p. 191), Americi Vesputii; in other publications of the first year of the sixteenth century, ALBERICUS VESPUTIUS, ALBERICO VESPUTIUS Y VESPUTIO; in one of the letters written by Cristobal Colon to his son, Don Diego, he called him AMERIGO VESPUCHY; in a royal ordinance of the 11th of April, 1505, authorizing him to touch 12,000 maravédis gratification, AMERIGO DE ESPUCHE; in another royal ordinance of 24th of the same month and year, granting to him letters of naturalization in the kingdom of Castile, AMERIGO VEZPUCHE; in certificates of 1506–1507, AMERICO VESPUCHE; in an ordinance of 22d March, 1508, granting other gratifications and extra pay, AMERIGO VISPUCHE; in the Commission of Piloto-Mayor, which was sent to him the 6th of August, 1508, AMERIGO DESPUCHI; in a writing of the 12th of June, 1509, upon the sale of canvas, he signed (Navarrete, vol. iii, p. 323), AMERIGO VESPUCCI; in an ordinance of the 28th of March, 1512, devising a pension to his widow, Maria Cerezo, he calls himself AMERIGO VESPUCHI; his nephew Juan signed himself VESPUCII, and wrote in the same manner the surname of AMERIGO; the Abbé Bandini published the Vita et lettere di Amerigo Vespucci; and Antonio de Herrera called him, as he is to-day called, AMERICO VESPUCIO. Alone Don Juan Bautista Muñoz, who concealed the letter published in the Cartas de Indias, called the Florentine merchant *Amerrigo* Vespucci.

NOTES

LAFAYETTE'S LOST MASS.—The editor's article on Lafayette (II. 724) recalls an incident recorded in a letter addressed to the writer some time since by a member of the Order of Ursulines. Speaking of Sister St. Henry, who died at Brinley Place, Roxbury, Mass.., from

the effects of the excitement when the convent on Mt. Benedict was burned by a brutal mob, the author of the letter in question refers to the funeral of Sister St. Henry as follows: "Sister St. Henry died at Roxbury * * * * forty days after the fire, and she had a most splendid funeral. At that time Lafayette died in France, when the Catholics in Boston made the finest preparations to have a Requiem Mass said for him; but when it was known that he died as he lived, they could not get the Mass said for him, so the dear St. Henry partook of *all* that was done to honor Lafayette." Sister St. Henry may be regarded, without exaggeration, as a martyr. C.

A REMINISCENCE OF "RED JACKET."—The following particulars respecting this celebrated Indian Chief and unrivalled native orator are extracted from the letter of a deceased New York merchant, Mr. William Hall, written in the year 1862. "I now send you a memorandum of my attending the Great Indian Treaty" (held at Buffalo. The venerable writer's ms. was deposited shortly after in the archives of the Buffalo Historical Society.) "The next time I saw Red Jacket was about the year 1820, at East Bloomfield, Ontario Co., N. Y., in company with an Indian chief who talked English. Asking him the age of Red Jacket, his companion addressed the inquiry to the chieftain, whose reply was, 'sixty years.' He was a shrewd cunning man, very proud, and although he could probably understand and speak some English, never would let it be heard from his lips. Some three or four years after I saw him again at the Indian Treaty, held at Moscow, Livingston Co., N. Y., held in the Academy, at which time General Brooks and Messrs. Clarke and Gibson purchased the Gardeau Reservation of Mrs. Jameson, 'the White Woman'" (whose remarkable history has since been published in a volume). "Red Jacket and 19 other chiefs were there. He did not make a speech, and their assent to the sale was obtained. I had been to Mr. Clute's and took old Mrs. Jameson with me over to Moscow in my carriage, as also a lady from New Jersey, Miss Haines (an aunt of the late ex-Governor Haines) and then back to Mr. Clute's residence. The 'White Woman's' age was, at that time, as I should judge, about eighty. Mr. C. had made a dinner for the Chiefs in a long row, and nineteen sat at the table. Red Jacket was so much *intoxicated** that the host made him go out of the room and his seat at the table was vacant. The Chiefs behaved with great decorum, and in fact dignity. Pollard, one of them, was said to be pious, and as they all sat still for a few moments, it is thought that he asked a blessing. Miss Haines stood by me, looking at them, and remarked that she never saw nineteen gentlemen anywhere at table who behaved and appeared better."

* The writer of this note once heard the late ex-President Fillmore, on an historical occasion, state that shortly after a certain business interview with Red Jacket in Buffalo, he had seen him furiously galloping through the streets, very noisy and quite under the power of liquor. What a melancholy contrast to the character of the venerable Cornplanter, a firm friend of temperance, as well as of peace and of Washington, so justly honored by the State of Pennsylvania with a noble monument to his memory.

W. H.

FOLLOW THE DRUM.—I think I have obtained at last, after twenty-two years occasional search, the old song of "the Drum," which Alexander Hamilton sang at the Dinner of the Cincinnati, July 4, 1804, just before the duel with Burr. Colonel Burr was present on the occasion, and the two men never met again till they met at Weehawken.

FOLLOW THE DRUM

Twas in the merry month of May,
When bees from flower to flower did hum,
Soldiers through the town march'd gay,
The village flew to the sound of the drum!
From windows lasses look'd a score,
Neighbours met at every door,
Serjeant twirl'd his sash and story,
And talk'd of wounds, honor, and glory.
'Twas in the merry month, &c.

Roger swore he'd leave his plough,
His team and tillage, all, by gum!
Of a country life he'd had enow—
He'd leave it all and follow the drum.
He'd leave his thrashing in the barn,
To thrash his foes right soon he'd learn,
With sword in hand he would not parley,
But thrash his foes instead of the barley.

The Cobbler he threw by his awl,
When all were glad, he'd ne'er be glum,
But quick attend to glory's call,
And like a man would follow the drum.
No more at home he'd be a slave,
But take his seat amid the brave;
In battle's seat none should be prouder,
Stead of balls and wax, he'd have balls and powder.

The Tailor he got off his knees,
And to the ranks did boldly come:
He said he ne'er would sit at his ease,
But follow the rest, and follow the drum.
How he'd leather the foes, good Lord!
When he'd a bodkin for a sword,
The French should find he didn't weedle,
When he'd a spear instead of a needle.

Three Old Women—the first was lame,
The second was blind, and the third nigh dumb,
To stay behind was a burning shame,
They'd follow the men, and follow the drum!
Our wills are good, but lack-a-day,
To catch the soldiers we will try for it,
For where there's a will, there's always a way,
We'll walk a mile or two if we die for them.

The song comes from a friend in England (T. Buttes Gunn, well known here). It is just the kind of rude song men of that day liked to sing after dinner. If we could only get the music now the thing would be complete. The effect of the song was probably due to the singers' personification of the characters, particularly the old women.

Newburyport. JAMES PARTON.

THE AMERICAN DARBIES. — In the name of several families residing on the eastern shore of Virginia occurs the strangest case I ever met with of variation in the spelling and pronunciation of a proper name. It leaves the familiar Cholmondelly, Beauvoir, and even Arcedeckne (which is pronounced Archdeacon), far behind; for in these there is *some* relation between orthography and orthoepy. But in the families I refer to there is not apparently the least reason for pronouncing the patronymic in the way it is pronounced, rather than in any other way that might be arbitrarily selected. The name is written Enroughty, and is pronounced Darby. I learned this undoubted fact during a visit to Virginia many years since, and was assured that the people who bear the name know no more than this, that their forefathers spelled and pronounced their name as I have given it. A few years since I happened to be placed at a *table d'hote* in Italy beside a very agreeable Englishman; and in the course of our talk discovered that he was a collector of strange surnames. I told him about these Virginians, and he was forced to acknowledge that this beat, if not the Dutch, certainly the English. After a few moments he turned round to me and exclaimed with triumph, "I know why

your Enroughtys are called Darbies." "If you do, you are wiser than they are," I answered. "I do. My wife was a County Clare woman; and I remember hearing that some generations ago certain families of the county, named Enright or Enracht (they spelled the name in both ways), emigrated to the States. They belonged to the sect known as Derby-ites, and the common term of derision used to one of that sect was, 'He's an old Derby' (pronounced Darby)." My agreeable neighbor was, as I afterwards learned, the late Bishop of Gibraltar. A. D.

Boston.

THE FOOLISH PURITANS.—Nor doth London abound with all things so plentifully for the belly alone, but also for the back, either to keep it warm or make it gay; what varieties of woolen Stuffs there are in every Shop, with broad Cloth equal to the price of Silk, being come to that heighth of perfection that some hath bin made of ten pounds a yard in price; But the Hollanders and others have now got the art of making our Stuffs and Cloths, by those foolish giddy headed Puritans that pretended to fly for persecution of their Consciences, whereby they have done their own Countrey no little mischief in this particular, as in many things besides.—*Howell's Londinopolis, 1657, page 397.* W. K.

QUEENSTON PRISONERS.—The following list of prisoners taken at Queenston, October 13, 1812, paroled 19th October, may interest some of the readers of the Magazine:

Gen. Wadsworth. Cols. Strenehan, Mead, Allen; Majors Spencer, Holand, Smith; Captains Brown, Clark, Pattengill, Bacon, Root, Stanley, Ireland, Bacon, Clark, Eldridge, Elice, Sutton, Barber, Brinkerhoff, Cronk, Whitney: Lieutenants Smith, Shepard, Culley, Haight, Phillips, Robartson, Randal, Price, Field, Holcomb, Kirkler, Daniels, Richmond, Wilan, Gray, T. Smith, Alexander; Ensigns Cobb, Sperry, Waldron, White, Haight, Denton, Peck, Boughton, Ireland. J. F. T.

Niagara Falls.

CUSTOMS OF THE CHEROKEES. — In turning over the files of the Weekly Recorder, published at Chillicothe, O., I found in the number bearing date August 21, 1816, an "Interesting extract of a letter from Col. R. J. Meigs, dated Cherokee Agency, July 6, 1816," in which he describes the Green Corn Dance, or the Feast of the First Fruits, as he had "attentively seen it performed." I make the following extract from it, as illustrating some remarkable coincidences with the Jewish customs:

"Formerly they had practiced frequent washings; these were resorted to after going through bodily exercises—perhaps of dancing; the whole meeting, on such occasions, went to the clear stream and plunged in. This was intended to express that they were then cleansed of all moral impurity—that however they might have done wrong before, the wrong was now done away, and no more to be considered as any part of their character. This corresponds with my personal observation; for they never reproach each other of former deviations from right.

"They formerly had cities of refuge, whither a person who had killed a Cherokee might flee. This was an excellent institution, as it gave time for the passions of the deceased to subside. In some cases compromises were made for pecuniary compensation, especially in cases of an accidental character. They have since deviated from that wise custom, and in every instance required life for life as forfeit, without any qualification; but they have now returned to a more humane procedure, and in some instances make equitable discrimination."

Zanesville, Ohio. J. Hope Sutor.

Ducking a female scold. — The barbarous sentence recently pronounced in Philadelphia of ducking a female, as a punishment for being a scold, has roused the indignation of every reflecting person in the community. Is there to be no end to the introduction into our courts of practices which even despots have become ashamed of, and erased from their codes of law. We had thought that the extension of knowledge as to criminal matters would have served as a guaranty against such abuses. Instead of this, we seem to have retrograded a century at least in our ideas as to the fitness and utility of punishment. The instance before us is only equalled by the practice of boring the ear, and branding the hand, which obtains in Rhode Island, where men who call themselves republicans submit to be governed by virtue of a *royal* charter. We are glad to find that steps are taking to wipe off the disgrace consequent on pronouncing so abhorrent a sentence. —*The Globe, New York, November* 6, 1824. Iulus.

Jefferson's summary view. — In Thomas Jefferson's Autobiography it is said of the author's pamphlet of 1774, entitled "A Summary View of the Rights of British America," that "it found its way to England, was taken up by the Opposition, interpolated a little by Mr. Burke, so as to make it answer Opposition purposes, and in that form ran rapidly through several editions." But there are no interpolations in the English reprint. It has, however, a prefatory address, evidently not by Burke.

New York. F. Burdge.

Unpublished journal of the Burgoyne campaign. — General Horatio Rogers, of Providence, has recently become possessed of several important original documents relating to the Burgoyne campaign of 1777, the chief of which, a ms. journal kept by a British Lieutenant (afterwards Major-General) Hadden, who served in the Royal Artillery on that expedition, Mr. Rogers is now preparing for the press. In this historical treasure are also several Orderly Books of the artillery corps under the command of General Phillips, which are of great importance, as they fill the two gaps in the Burgoyne Orderly Book, published by himself, some leaves of which were missing. One of these leaves contained a general order from General Phillips, which reflected upon the use of army carts by the Commander-in-Chief, Burgoyne, for the transportation of his personal baggage. W. L. S.

A jacksonian toast.—At a dinner provided for a select number of Democratic politicians at Washington, July 4,

1830, the following extraordinary toast was offered by Ambrose Lynch, and drank with all the honors:

Jackson's fair political bark
The certain emblem of Noah's Ark.
The deluge bark preserved eight human beings,
Jackson's bark saved full eight millions;
Sons of the brave Columbus, can you ever sanction
The defamation of brave Andrew Jackson?

PETERSFIELD.

A MEDAL TO COOPER.—I have in my possession a curious medal. It has on one side the bust of Cooper in relief, with the inscription "The personification of honor, truth and justice." On the other side is the inscription "To Fennimore Cooper, the offering of a grateful heart for his disinterested vindication of his brother sailor Jesse D. Elliott."

The medal is two inches in diameter.

J. S. BLACKBURN.

Alexandria, Va.

HUMBLE PIE.—Captain Edward Mott's company being insulted by a couple of rascally *tories*, as they passed through the town of Litchfield, the two offenders found it necessary to extinguish the flames of resentment they had kindled by eating a hearty meal of what is vulgarly called HUMBLE PYE.—*Hartford Letter, June 9, 1775, Conn. Gazette.*

CONTINENTAL.

QUERIES

LORD PERCY AT BRANDYWINE.—(II, 121, 311.) An English member of the Society of Friends, Robert Sutcliff, in his "Travels in some parts of North America, 1804–5–6," published at York, England, 1815, mentions at that early date the tradition that a Percy was slain at the battle of the Brandywine. On page 223 he says, "2d month, 20. The ground I travelled over this day was the scene of much bloodshed during the revolutionary war; it being that part of the country where the battle of Brandywine was fought. *My companion was present at the time*, with several other friends, who were led forth by the dictates of humanity, in order to lend some assistance to the poor wounded and dying soldiers that lay scattered over the fields through an extent of several miles. On this occasion, Friends' meeting house of Birmingham was converted into a hospital, in which many of the poor mangled creatures breathed their last, &c., &c. Amongst those who ended their earthly career in this meeting house were several officers, who were buried in Friends' burying ground. *One of these, a near connection of the Duke of Northumberland, was a young man of the name of Percy*, whose amiable and exemplary conduct, under his severe sufferings, had procured him the particular regard and esteem of the friends about him."

Was the companion to whom he refers the Joseph Townsend mentioned [II, 311], or another witness to the death of young Percy? Sutcliff's account is certainly earlier than that of Colonel Stone, or Watson, and written at a time not so remote from the year of the battle, gives the legend an aspect of truth.

HORACE EDWARD HAYDEN.

Brownsville.

OLD AND NEW CHRISTMAS.—Hearing this expression used by an "old country body," and asking its meaning, I learned

that in some parts of Scotland, and in the north of Ireland, the term "Old Christmas" is used to designate Twelfth-day, or Epiphany (the sixth of January); whilst the twenty-fifth of December is known as "New Christmas." I find that this distinction is familiar to the Scotch and Irish Presbyterians, who are noted for their strict *non* observance of canonical feasts. How is it to be accounted for? The difference between old and new style would not explain it, for Christmas-day, old style, would be January *fifth*, new style.

It is at least a curious coincidence that this distinction should agree precisely with the facts as recorded in church history. "The greatest Part of the Eastern Church," says Bingham, "for Three or Four of the first Ages kept the Feast of CHRIST's Nativity on the same Day which is now called *Epiphany*, or the Sixth of January." (*Antiquities of the Christian Church*, book xx, c. iv, § 2.) "After the 25th December was solemnized in the fourth century in the west as the birth-festival, this day," according to Gieseler, "came soon to be looked upon as the day of birth." (*Compendium of Eccles. History*, vol. I, p. 60, note.)

I learn that among the Irish Roman Catholics the two festivals are sometimes distinguished as "Great and Little Christmas," a distinction more easily understood, between the beginning and the closing days of the Christmas season.

Is any such usage maintained among the descendants of the Scotch-Irish emigrants to this country? C. W. B.

THE CLINTON FAMILY.—Can any of your English readers give information regarding the parentage of William Clinton, who was an officer in the army of Charles of First? On the downfall of that monarch, he was obliged to fly to the Continent for safety, went from thence to Scotland, where he married a lady of the family of Kennedy, and from thence to Ireland, where he died, leaving one son, James. James, who became an officer in the army under Queen Anne, went to England as soon as he reached manhood, to recover his patrimonial estates, but failed, on account of the limitation of an Act of Parliament. His son Charles emigrated to America in 1829.

I would like to know, also, what positions were held in the British army by William and James Clinton.

New York. M. E. B.

LAFAYETTE AND FATHER MATHEW.—Did Lafayette ever become an American citizen?

Did Kosciusko?

Did Father Mathew?

If any correspondent can give correct information and authority in this matter it would be a great favor.

New York. ISAAC F. WOOD.

THE QUIDEN.—Will some student of the Indian tongues inform the readers of the Magazine of the exact meaning of the word "Quiden," used by the New England Indians. Did it refer to a bark canoe, to a "dug out," or to a larger vessel? QUID.

LOST LOCALITIES.—Can any of the readers of the Magazine inform me of the whereabouts of the following localities :

The Forest of Dean in England is an old country historical locality. The Forest of Dean, in the Colony of New York, was its namesake. Where was the former, and where was the latter; and as to the latter, who were the grantees, and what is its history and its present *status?*

Where was "the Slote," an interesting locality in the colonial and revolutionary history of New York colony and State?

Where was the Manor of Mask? In what one of the American colonies, and what is the history of this Manor?

Where was, or is, Conowago Chapel? It was an early Catholic mission in northern Maryland or southern Pennsylvania. What is its history?

J. B. B.

SAMUEL DODGE.—In the New York line of the Continental Army two officers of this name served; one in the 4th and the other in the 5th N. Y. They served through the War, and at its close, joined the Cincinnati in 1783, one with the rank of First Lieutenant and the other that of Ensign. One was prisoner of war in 1780, and writes from Long Island as such. Were they father and son? Members of the same family? How can their record be separated and distinguished? And what was the place of their original enlistment?

R. D.

ANDRÉ'S REMAINS.—Can any of the readers of the Magazine of American History inform me where I can find an account of the removal of André's remains from their burial place, at Tappan, to Westminster Abbey? W. N.

Paterson, N. J.

NATHAN HALE.—In an article in the Sun of the 28th December last, occurs the following passage: "There is some doubt as to the precise spot in this city where Nathan Hale was hanged, but the most trustworthy tradition locates it between the present County Court House and the Hall of Records."

What is the tradition to which the Sun refers, and on what is it founded?

MANHATTAN.

DON GALVEZ. — Elliott's Debates, Supp. Vol. 5, p. 88, notices the fact that a portrait of Don Galvez, the Spanish Governor of Louisiana during the Revolution, and a warm friend of the American colonies, was presented to the United States Congress by Oliver Pollock, Esq., United States Commercial Agent at New Orleans. This statement of Elliott's is corroborated by a manuscript letter of Oliver Pollock, preserved in the United States Archives, at Washington. The portrait was presented on May 8th, 1783, when the Congress was in session at Philadelphia. Can any one state whether the said portrait is still in existence and where?

HORACE EDWIN HAYDEN.

Brownsville, Pa.

THE BELL OF INDEPENDENCE.—Who rang the bell on Independence Hall, Philadelphia, July 4, 1776? George Lippard, in his Legends of the American

Revolution, says it was "an old man with white hair and sunburnt face." Barnes' Centenary History also describes him as an aged man, I think, but in neither is his name mentioned.

Meyerstown, Penn. R. E. W.

GATES' BURIAL PLACE.—Where was the hero of Saratoga buried? The newspapers of the day describe the funeral as having been attended by the Cincinnati Society. He was buried without parade, as he particularly requested in his will, but where I have not been able, after long search, to ascertain. SARATOGA.

REPLIES

BATTLE OF MONMOUTH. (II, 408, 569, 758; III, 58.)—This reply is addressed, collectively, to Trenton, T. H. M., and R. C. So far from conceding any errors, further examination confirms all my original statements.

Lafayette, advising Washington, 25th June, when the enemy were already at Allentown, did not seem to consider that the British moved slowly. "We (Americans) will be obliged to march pretty fast, if we want to attack them." "Wil. Livingston, Gov. N. J., addressing Lee, 22d June, judges correctly that the British halted at (Mount) Holly throughout the 21st, simply to bring up their rear, i. e., close up. He mentions no expectation of defending this, a very strong or any other position.

Marshall says, "General Maxwell, who had been posted at Mount Holly, retired on his (Clinton's) approach, and joined General Dickinson, who was collecting the Jersey militia; but they were able to give *very little other interruption* to the march of the enemy, than was produced by breaking up the bridges in his route." (Marshall, III, 419.)

Mount Holly was a very important tactical point, and ought to have been tenaciously held. Gov. Livingston's idea, however, "was *not* to *retard* the British, but to drive the rascals thro' the State as soon as possible."

What did "the militia of New Jersey in the highest spirit and almost to a man in arms" accomplish towards retarding Clinton. It did not require soldiers to break down a few petty bridges, to cut down trees, and to drive horses and other live stock away from the British line of march. Common laborers, old men, or even good sized boys sufficed for such work.

Colonel Laurens, addressing his father, 30th June, remarks apparently even of the day of Monmouth. "The militia of the country kept up a random, running fire with the Hessian Jagers; no mischief was done on either side."

Washington did not believe in militia proper, a bit more than do the entire mass of military critics, but doubtless found it politic sometimes to let fall a few drops of commendation in the shape of honeyed-words, which made no draft upon the army chest.

Clinton was retarded by the exhaustion of his men and horses, in consequence of the unparalleled heat—a muggy suffocating temperature, alternating with heavy showers—difficult, deep, and sandy roads; the superfluity of *useless*, as well as of necessary equipages, &c., &c., out of all proportion to

his fighting forces, and the extra vigilance requisite to stop the wholesale desertion of his disaffected Germans. Eight months Capuan occupation of Philadelphia had entirely relaxed the troops—uniformed and equipped as they were to the extreme *possible* of disabling red-tape-minuteness—so that they broke down at once upon a fresh start under tropical heat. For like reasons the horses gave out rapidly. The militia swarming around may have favored, or rather countenanced, desertion by their mere presence at a distance, and prevented the sweeping in of fresh horses, &c., of which Clinton stood in absolute need.

Even at Crosswicks Creek—a very defensible line—"When the advanced party, under Lt.-Col. Simcoe, appeared, they (the Americans) prudently retired, taking up the planks of the bridge * * * and *making an appearance* of contesting the passage * * the Rangers * * crossing over on the timbers of the bridge, and gallantly pursuing without catching the retreating militia."

Consider the advantageous positions of Dickinson's N. J. militia, 1,200 to 1,300, and Maxwell's Brigade of Continentals, on Clinton's left flank; of Gen. Cadwalader with Jackson's Continental regiment and Gen. Lacey's Philadelphia Volunteers and militia in his rear; and of Morgan, with 600 riflemen—the best troops of the kind in the whole world—on his right. Except by the application of manual labor is there any evidence that either of these bodies stopped or altered the march of the British for one hour. Even at Monmouth, the militia were repulsed, Clinton says, "by the pickets of one, the 40th Regt., and one troop of the 17th Light Dragoons."

Clinton had marched about, if not more than, 60 miles in six small *parts* of days. Six *small parts* of days are emphasized, because two days out of eight were consumed in handling and changing the relative position of his material and getting his most reliable troops into closest proximity to the only enemy he feared, the acclimated men of Valley Forge—the regiments which Steuben had drilled. From 10 A. M., 26th, to 8 A. M., 28th, Clinton took his ease at Freehold. His movements in retreat were not hastened or retarded by any interruption from the Americans in pursuit, who had to move at the same rate as the British on account of the high temperature (G. W. G., II, 87; Sparks' Writings of Washington, V, 416; 423).

"Trenton" quotes Sir Henry but *italicises* the wrong sentence. He emphasises the words which refer to simple manual labor, he does not italicise the words "without any interruption," that reflect upon soldiership. If "*Trenton*" wishes me to concede that the American militia were industrious *citizens*, capable of accomplishing, daily, a great amount of manual labor, the argument is at an end.

Finally, as to when Clinton moved from Monmouth, Washington Irving adopts Clinton's statement that "at 10 o'clock, when the Americans were buried in their first sleep, he (Clinton) had set forward." The same magic slumber that sealed the senses of the Americans at Monmouth, fettered the faculties of the pickets of both armies (Union and Rebel) after the carnage and confusion

of the third day's conflict at Gettysburg (3d July, '63). If Clinton did so depart, then, founding my calculations on Gordon's data, the British, moving in a flat country eastward, i. e., *from the moon's setting*, had the benefit of an hour's moonlight, if not more. This judgment was not jumped at, but reached after consultation with experts, as well as personal observation during the past summer.

There is no doubt that N. J. militia individually were as brave as any militia enjoying equal advantages, but no militia that ever existed has ever been worth anything, as Washington observed, in the open field when opposed to regulars. (Sparks' Writings of Washington.)

Wayne, who fought the best at Monmouth, and fought well always, everywhere, has left a curious corroborative opinion on record. In a letter to Washington he speaks of his "insuperable bias in favor of an elegant uniform and soldierly appearance; so much so, that I would much rather risk my life and reputation, at the head of the same men, in an attack, clothed and appointed as I could wish, merely with bayonets and a single charge of ammunition, than to take them as they appear in common, with sixty rounds of cartridges. It may be a false idea, but I cannot help cherishing it." (Moore's Wayne, 83.)

If the British army *retreating* moved slowly, what epithet will apply to the American forces *pursuing*. The latter must have marched much more slowly, because it is certain that if Washington's soldiers did come up with Clinton it was not through any action of the militia—the holding or arresting power of the military, or even their labors—but simply because the British commander deliberately halted a day at Mount Holly, another at Allentown, and 46 hours at Freehold. (Further testimony omitted for want of space.) J. W. de P.

METAL OBJECTS FROM INDIAN TUMULI.—(III. 47). Considering the proximity of the gold mines of North Carolina and Georgia, whose auriferous regions must have been to some extent known to the aborigines of that section, it is very remarkable that the primitive gold ornament mentioned by Hon. C. C. Jones, Jr., as found by him in a mound in Georgia should be such a rarity. It is much more surprising than the fact mentioned by Col. Jones in his valuable contribution to the history of the early races of the South, that "of the many mounds opened by him along South Carolina, Georgia and Florida, not one copper implement or ornament of native manufacture was found." Lake Superior copper very seldom found its way south of the Ohio river, even in the crude state in which it has been picked up east of the Alleghenies.

But considering the proximity of the vast treasures of copper in the Lake Superior district; the wideness of primitive mining mentioned by Foster; the superstitious veneration in which the Indians held the ore in its native state, noticed by the Jesuit missionaries; the rich find by Mr. Perkins, in Wisconsin, of copper implements described by Prof. Butler—it is a still more remarkable fact that so few copper implements or ornaments of native manufacture have been found in the mounds lying

east of the Ohio river, in West Virginia and Western Pennsylvania.

In the State of West Virginia, along the line of the Ohio and Kanawha rivers, exist a great number of very interesting tumuli and some fine fortifications, which have apparently escaped the notice of archaeologists. Many of these tumuli have been carefully examined by myself, as well as by others, especially those lying in the bottoms along the Ohio. Yet not one implement or ornament, gold, silver or copper, of native manufacture, has been found to my knowledge, except those unearthed in the Grave Creek Mound. In the valuable and extensive collection of mound relics owned by Dr. Samuel G. Shaw of Point Pleasant, West Virginia, there is not a single specimen.

In his account of the investigations of the Grave Creek Mound, published in the American Pioneer, Mr. Tomlinson mentions the discovery of five copper bracelets. These are spoken of by Mr. Henry R. Schoolcraft in the twelfth volume of the Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, 1842, as "five copper bracelets or arm bands, but without being soldered at the point of juncture."

Mr. McFadden, the present owner of the Grave Creek Mound, says, in a letter published in "Cherry's History and Vindication of the Grave Creek Stone," that his wife still possesses "a few bone beads that were *strung on* COPPER WIRE around the neck of the large skeleton which was found in the shaft, 30 feet from the top of the mound."

Mr. Foster (p. 257) mentions a copper bracelet, found by him in a mound in Charleston, Ohio, as "not an uncommon ornament," but I do not remember reading any where else of *copper wire* as among the manufactures of the moundbuilders. The malleability of Lake Superior copper in its native state is so great that a wire could be hammered out without the use of heat.

But the implements noticed by Mr. Foster and Mr. Butler among the rich collection of the Wisconsin Historical Society as manufactured by the smelting process, are not the only evidences that the moundbuilders possessed the knowledge of working metals by fire. Mr. Alfred Huidekoper, a gentleman of archæological taste, living in Meadville, Penn., showed me this past summer a string of eight or ten copper discs, taken from a mound on French Creek, below Meadville, which were evidently *cast.* They are about an inch and a half in diameter, concave, with a thickness of one-sixteenth of an inch, perforated in the centre, and about the shape of the base and stem of an ordinary wine-glass. They were evidently meant for ornaments, and possibly were strung originally on skin or copper wire, with circumference to circumference, or apex to apex, thus forming a graceful ornament, as each disc follows very nearly the "line of beauty" in its conformation. There may have been other discoveries of metallic remains among the Western Virginia and Pennsylvania mounds, but during a residence of eleven years among them I have heard of no others of primitive manufacture. It may be worthy of mention that the drawing of the Grave Creek Mound tablet, as published in the Journal of the

Royal Geographical Society, Vol. XII, p. 260, differs in several of its characters very materially from the drawing as published in American works; and also that Mr. Cherry has made out a very strong case, in favor of the tablet, in his brief pamphlet lately issued.

HORACE EDWIN HAYDEN.

Brownsville, Penn.

STINKING LINGO INDIANS.—(II. 632.) The Muskokee or Creek Confederacy, in the eighteenth century, was composed of the Muskokees, or Creeks proper, and a number of broken tribes in alliance with them, some of which spoke languages closely akin to the pure Muskokee.

The *Alabama* and *Cusawte* spoken by the towns about the head of the Alabama river and for some distance below, and the *Hitchitee* or *Chelokee* spoken by many towns on the Chattahooche and Apalachicola rivers were dialects of Muskokee, with a large infusion of Choctaw, or Chickasaw words, in their vocabularies.

These impure dialects were called by the white traders and Indian countrymen the *Stinkard* language. This name is probably a translation of the Muskokee, *Opunaka fumpeepe* ("language stinking").

The Muskokees always regarded themselves as the blue blood of the Nation. They claimed that their language was the mother-tongue, and that the Choctaw and Chickasaw were only dialects of Muskokee. See Bartram's *Travels through North and South Carolina, Georgia*, etc. London Ed., 1792, pp. 463, 464, 517. Bartram (pp. 461, 462) gives a list of the principal towns on the Chattahooche, Tallapoosa, and Coosa rivers, with a statement of the language or dialect spoken by each.

The "Cussitau town" mentioned in the Charleston letter, from which "Petersfield" quotes, was on the Chattahooche, not far below the site of the modern city of Columbus, Georgia. The Cussetas spoke Muskokee, but the Chehaws, who lived in a town hard by, spoke a Stinkard tongue, probably Hitchitee.

Among the Natchez the common people, whose language differed in many respects from that of the nobles, were called *Michemiche-quipy*, and this expressive term was translated by the French, *puants*, "stinkards." See Le Page du Pratz, *Hist. de la Louisiane*, Paris, 1758, Tome II, pp. 321–325, 393, 394.

W. S. WYMAN.

Tuscaloosa, Ala.

IOWA SAC AND MISSION PRESS.—(III. 55.) This press was located at the Iowa Mission, near what is now Highland, Doniphan county, Kansas, under the charge of Rev. S. M. Irwin and William Hamilton. A grammar of the Iowa language and an elementary speller and definer were printed. Of the first, I know of two copies, one perfect in the Kansas Historical Society, another, imperfect, in my possession. Of the second, I do not think there is a copy in existence, having searched for one for twenty years without success.

Deposit. J. B. D.

(Publishers of Historical Works wishing Notices, will address the Editor, with Copies, Box 100, Station D—N. Y. Post office.)

A HISTORY OF AMERICAN LITERATURE. By MOSES COIT TYLER, Professor of English Literature in the University of Michigan. Vol. I, 1607–1676. Vol. II, 1677–1765. 8vo, pp. 292—330. G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS. New York, 1878.

These are the first in a series of volumes, in which the author proposes to write the history of American literature, from the earliest English settlements in this country to the present time. The year 1765, when the Stamp Act Congress first crystallized the elements of national life, and first gave it expression in the famous protest against the inequality and injustice of English rule, is appropriately chosen as the close of the period when American thought, and consequently American literature, was too subordinate to English teaching, example and control to deserve a distinctive national name; for it must not be forgotten that even the most peculiar traits of each of the separate colonies were not original with themselves, but derived from the various sections of the mother country from which they emigrated; the faults as well as the virtues of the colonists are directly and easily traceable to their kin beyond the sea; even the peculiarities of speech, which afford so much amusement to our English cousins, while rapidly disappearing from among ourselves, are to be found in all their original drollness in the counties of our mother country. During the period covered by the two volumes before us it can hardly be claimed that an American literature existed, except in a local application of the term. Not only the great masters of style were English, but the channels of thought, and to a great extent the thought itself which moved through these channels, were English also. Examined without reference to their influence upon the literature that followed, which was and is perhaps only within a quarter of a century so distinctive in character as to entitle it to the name of American, this account of our earlier writers has little beyond an antiquarian interest. Examined on the other hand with reference to the literature which is now our pride, this careful recital of the long and gradual processes by which the American mind emerged from the trammels of foreign control, this admirable analysis of the literary conditions which governed the widely differing communities of the Eastern, Middle and Southern Colonies, assumes its true place and importance. In itself it demonstrates that American literature is no longer in its swaddling clothes, and that American authors no longer need the cuddling care of English nurses. The time is long past when of any American work in any line of literature it can be doubted, as of Bryant's masterpiece, when it first made its appearance, "that it could have been written in America."

The universal praise which Mr. Tyler's work has elicited is warrant not only of its excellence, but of its timeliness. Its manner of treatment is admirable. It is what it sets out to be—not a biography of American writers, nor yet a repertory of their writings, but a history of American literature, with just enough of personal anecdote to interest us in the one and sufficient extracts to give illustration of the other; the general sketch thus acquiring a racy flavor, while each particular branch has its own particular aroma.

In his style Mr. Tyler is himself thoroughly American. In every page he reveals some of the strong traits of his New England origin. He is assertive, without being didactic, in the expression of his opinion and judgments, and always original, while a vein of humor gives zest to his narrative, and carries the interest of the readers safely over many a rough rock and slippery quicksand. And there are occasional passages of extreme beauty as well as vigor. In the utter impossibility of giving even a bald analysis of these excellent volumes, we quote from his chapter on the Verse-writers of New England a passage remarkable for fine critical point and verve of expression, while presenting some of the exaggerations of his forcible style: "The Puritan," he says, "very naturally turned away likewise from great and splendid types of literature—from the drama, from the playful and sensuous verse of Chaucer and his innumerable sons, from the secular prose writings of his contemporaries, and from all forms of modern lyric verse, except the Calvinistic hymn. Nevertheless the Puritan did not succeed in eradicating poetry from his nature. Of course poetry was planted there too deep even for his theological grub-hooks to root it out. Though denied expression in one way, the poetry that was in him forced itself into utterance in another. If his theology drove poetry out of many forms in which it had been used to reside, poetry itself praticed a noble revenge by taking up its abode in his theology. His supreme thought was given to theology; and there he nourished his imagination with the mightiest and sublimest conceptions that a human being can entertain—conceptions of God and man, of angels and devils, of Providence and duty and destiny, of heaven, earth, hell. Though he stamped his foot in horror and scorn upon many exquisite and delicious types of literary art; stripped society of all its embellishments, life of all its amenities,

sacred architecture of all its grandeur, the public service of divine worship, of the hallowed pomp, the pathos and beauty of its most reverend and stately forms; though his prayers were often a snuffle, his hymns a dolorous whine, his extemporized liturgy a bleak ritual of ungainly postures and of harsh monotonous howls; yet the idea that filled and stirred his soul was one in every way sublime, immense, imaginative, poetic—the idea of awful omnipotent Jehovah, his inexorable justice, his holiness, the inconceivable brightness of his majesty, the vastness of his unchanging designs along the entire range of his relations with the hierarchies of heaven, the principalities and powers of the pit, and the elect and reprobate of the sons of Adam. How resplendent and superb was the poetry that lay at the heart of Puritanism, was seen by the sightless eyes of John Milton, whose great epic is indeed the epic of Puritanism."

There is a unity in the period treated of in these volumes, which makes them complete in themselves. Indeed, an excellent index ties them together. In those that are to follow the author will have to deal with material of quite another character. If they shall realize the full promise of the present perfect performance, Mr. Tyler will take rank among the best analytic literary critics, not only of American literature, but of the written English tongue.

ADDRESSES AND SPEECHES ON VARIOUS OCCASIONS FROM 1869 TO 1879. By ROBERT C. WINTHROP. 8vo, pp. 506. LITTLE, BROWN & Co. Boston, 1878.

In 1852 Mr. Winthrop gathered together and published, under the same title as that of the volume now before us, the principal speeches and addresses made during his public career in the State Legislature of Massachusetts and the National House of Representatives. He was one of the recognized leaders of the Whig party during the hey-day of its power and glory. His opinions, therefore, of men and events during the hot controversies which culminated in the political cataclysm of 1856, when the Republican party sprung into full life in a single campaign from the free soil element of both the great national parties, are a valuable, if not indispensable, aid to a full understanding of the reasons which withheld men like himself from acquiescence in the new order of political division.

Retiring from political life at this time, he nevertheless continued to devote his leisure, which an ample fortune permits him to direct at will, to public concerns. In 1867 he published a second volume, containing his speeches and addresses from 1852 until that date, which may properly be termed the second epoch in his career. In these the whole circle of charitable and educational institutions is treated, and always with broad philanthropy and practical good sense. Still, in the midst of these engrossing and elevating occupations, in which he was daily called upon to grace by his presence and dignify, by his character, the outward manifestations by which the promoters of good either made or vindicated their claim to public favor, the blood of the old partisan stirred at the well-known trumpet sound. In his letter of October, 1855, to the Whig Executive Committee he defined, as it has been nowhere else so clearly defined, the principles of the Whigs of Massachusetts and pleaded for the life of the doomed party. In September of the next year he presided over the Whig Convention, which met at Tremont Temple, and pronounced himself in favor of Mr. Fillmore for the Presidency. In 1860 he followed the fortunes of Bell and Everett, and was one of the devoted handful who were squeezed to death between the upper and nether millstones. In 1864 Mr. Winthrop supported McClellan, and even spoke in his behalf in New York City at the ratification meeting. But in all these speeches, warm as many of them are, the natural amenity of the man subdued and tempered the spirit of the partisan. It needed the awful historical crime of April, 1865, to force upon universal attention the remarkable, almost providential, characteristics of the lamented Lincoln, and it is not surprising to find that among the tributes to his courage, moderation and magnanimity none was more instant, hearty and appropriate than that of Mr. Winthrop before the Massachusetts Historical Society, the dignified body of which he is still the honored President.

The new volume, apart from the literary or oratorical character of any of its contents, is interesting, as covering with greater elaboration one special field of his own career of usefulness. It describes the origin and progress of some of our great public institutions—the Peabody Education Trust, the Peabody Museum, the Charity Bureau, the Sanders (Harvard) University Theatre; and interspersed are numerous appreciations of the character of the notables of our public life, the record of whom it has fallen to Mr. Winthrop in his many official posts to dignify and honor.

These volumes show what use a man may make of his talents in this republican country of ours, and we are not ashamed to challenge a comparison of the practical usefulness of the life of their author with that of any of the leaders of civilization on the other side of the Atlantic.

ORATORY AND ORATORS. BY WILLIAM MATHEWS, LL.D. 16mo, pp. 456. S. C. GRIGGS & Co. Chicago, 1879.

Rarely does it fall to the reviewer's task to call the attention of his readers to so fascinating

a book as this; to one so full in every sense. The work is a plea in favor of the orator, and one early chapter poses the question, "whether oratory is or is not a lost art?" in his answer to which the author says it is certain that civilized men in proportion as they increase in culture will avoid whatever is highflown in oratory, study brevity and plainness, and keep to the subject before them. This is too broad an assertion. None more than highly cultivated men enjoy true oratory, where lofty thoughts are married to sonorous speech, while mein and gesture give illustration and point to the argument. But when the details of a book are so charming, it is invidious to quarrel with what after all is simply too broad a generalization.

Mr. Mathews brings a generous scholarship and wide reading, a fine critical acumen and a delightful enthusiasm to his analysis of the different powers of the famous orators of the world. Most interesting to us are his chapters on English and American statesmen, and his comparison of the two giants of the British and American forum, Webster and Burke, the Gog and Magog of English oratory. To neither does he assign the palm; and indeed their different orders of genius (for we utterly repudiate Mr. Mathews' dictum, that the one had *talent* and the other *genius*) do not admit of comparison.

In a final plea for oratorical culture, some excellent advice is given to all those who would command or lead by word of mouth. We commend these thoughts with hearty praise, and with no less satisfaction the forcible and lucid language in which they are clothed, and the admirable construction of the phrases which carry them to the reason with resistless force.

RECORDS OF THE GOVERNOR AND COUNCIL OF THE STATE OF VERMONT. Vol. VI. Edited and published by the authority of the State by E. P. WALTON. 8vo, pp. 574. Montpelier press of J. & S. M. POLAND. 1878.

This continuation of the printed records of Vermont opens with the Minutes of the Thirty-seventh Council, October, 1813, and ends with those of the Forty-fifth, October, 1822, an interesting period in the history of the country. A voluminous appendix contains the speeches of the Governors, the New York boundary questions, amendments to the Federal Constitution, the Hartford Convention, Vermont in the war of 1812, Slavery and the Missouri question, and the Rights of the States to the Public Lands. It is well indexed, and is illustrated by portraits of Governors Chittenden, Skinner and Smith, of whom biographical sketches are given.

The value of this publication to historical collections is self-evident.

THE LIFE, CHARACTER AND HISTORY OF WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT. A Commemorative Address delivered before the New York Historical Society at the Academy of Music, December 30, 1878. By GEORGE WILLIAM CURTIS. 8vo, pp. 64. CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS. New York, 1879.

In the history of American literature no single name stands out to-day so distinct in its brilliancy as that of Bryant. No one has ever had so strong a hold upon the general heart as he; and this because he was the most national, as he was the most American of our poets. His inspirations were drawn from sources familiar to us all. The various beauty and grandeur of our nature are our as they were his birth-right. And certainly the death of no American private citizen has ever occasioned a lament so national or a pæan of praise so general as his.

Last and most complete of all the glowing eulogiums upon his unique and beautiful character, fitly closing the series, was the classical, elegant oration of Mr. Curtis on an occasion which will remain forever memorable in the history of our literature, as it was, to use his own felicitous expression, "the last formal commemoration of our poet," and his final commitment "to history and fame."

The occasion was memorable, not alone that it was still another in a long line of intellectual and oratorical displays before the same venerable society, but that it was graced by the highest dignitaries of the nation, who had journeyed through the mid-winter day to join in the national tribute to the illustrious dead, one of "those sceptered sovereigns who rule our spirit from their urns."

In this address, which is a masterpiece of arrangement and careful analysis of character, adorned with passages of extreme beauty, the outward public character of Bryant is drawn in broad familiar lines, his inner poetic nature in delicate pencillings, the whole forming a portraiture Grecian in its chaste simplicity. Those who listened to the address marvelled at the serene beauty of the orator's periods, and only those to whom the fortune has fallen to have heard and now to read have had the full measure of their enjoyment in this appropriate and perfect tribute.

MARYLAND DOCUMENTS, 1692 to 1800. 4to, pp. 18.

With a view of printing at some future day a full bibliography of Maryland documents, the Librarian of the Maryland Historical Society has issued a few copies of the list to the year 1800.

DIE CULTURLANDER DES ALTEN AMERICA, von A. BASTIAN. 2 Banden. 8vo, pp. 704, 965. BERLIN WEIDMANNSCHE BUCHHANDLUNG. 1878. B. WESTERMANN & Co., 524 Broadway, New York:

THE CULTIVATED COUNTRIES OF OLD AMERICA. Vol. I—One Year's Travel. Vol. II—Notes for Historical Researches.

Professor A. Bastian, the well-known German geographer and African explorer, gives us in Volume I an account of his adventures and some historical notes on the cultivation of old Peru. His explorations were devoted to Chili, Peru, Ecuador, Columbia, the Isthmus and Guatemala. The customs and religion of Peru are narrated in an interesting form. The first chapter relates to his sea voyage, its various incidents, and the different ports and scenery of the coast. In chapter second he lays before us in a pleasing manner his adventures, discoveries and scientific researches in Peru and Ecuador. The third refers principally to Columbia; and the fourth is devoted to the Isthmus and Guatemala. Volume II contains the history of the ancient Incas of Peru, the Chibchas with the tribes of the Magdalena and Cauca Valleys, the tribes of the Isthmus and the Antilles, and of Guatemala with Yucatan; the history of old Mexico, comprising its tribes, customs, religion and politics.

Dr. R. Kiepert contributes to volume one three maps, viz., the routes followed by Dr. Bastian in Ecuador, Columbia and Guatemala. Volume II is illustrated by seven plates, which are taken from Piedrahitas' edition of 1688. It closes with an elaborate index, and is preceded by two well-compiled prefaces.

These two volumes are edited in a masterly manner. The printing is excellent in every way. This work is worthy of praise as a standard of reference for the geographer and historical student. Dr. Bastian proposes to put before the public a third volume upon the Collection of American Antiquities in the Ethnological Department of the Royal Museum of Berlin.

HISTORY OF THE GREAT FIRE IN SAINT JOHN, JUNE 20 AND 21, 1877. By RUSSELL H. CONWELL. 12mo, pp. 359. Boston. 1877.

A detailed account of the terrible disaster which befell St. John last summer, adding another to the long series of colossal disasters which have periodically fallen upon our hastily built American cities. It is illustrated with views of the conflagration and a map of the burned district. A chapter gives miscellaneous matters of interest. The St. John Daily News, started in 1838, was the first newspaper. A just tribute is paid to the character of Lieutenant-Governor Tilley, a gentleman well known on both sides of the line for his liberality of opinion, urbanity of manners and genial hospitality, and, as the author says, justly endeared to the people of the United States for his open sympathy and firm defence of the cause of the Union during its struggle with the rebellion. Of his charming traits of character, we speak from personal experience, having enjoyed his hospitality.

THE WOODRUFF SCIENTIFIC EXPEDITION AROUND THE WORLD. Sailing May 8, 1879, and returning September, 1880; giving all the information required for a full understanding of the enterprise. JAMES O. WOODRUFF, Director. 8vo, pp. 52. Printed at the RIVERSIDE PRESS. Cambridge. 1878.

On the 23d March, 1878, President Hayes approved of the Act of Congress authorizing the granting of an American register to a foreign-built ship for the purposes of a scientific expedition around the world, on the condition that no mercantile ventures should form a part of it, or the Government be subject to any expense.

Availing of this authority, Mr. James O. Woodruff, the director of the enterprise, purchased the war steamer General Werder of the North German Lloyds line, of sufficient capacity, built on the Clyde in 1874, which has been examined by a competent board of officers, and pronounced suitable for the expedition. President Clark of Amherst College, who has made extensive voyages with practical results in Europe and the East, will manage the instruction branch of the enterprise. The quota of scholars is limited to two hundred and fifty, of which number we learn sufficient have been secured to warrant the purchase of the vessel, and ensure the success of the expedition. The fee is fixed at twenty-five hundred dollars, on easy terms of payment.

A SYSTEM OF PUNCTUATION FOR THE USE OF SCHOOLS. By C. W. BUTTERFIELD. 8vo, pp. 33. WM. J. PARK & Co. Madison, Wisconsin.

This is another effort to solve the difficult problem of punctuation. There is no doubt of the importance of punctuation; indeed, the English written language is not intelligible without it. Its principles are difficult of analysis, and we doubt whether any rule will command a general respect. The divisions of the subject are separately treated and in an intelligible manner.

THE THIRD BOOK OF RECORDS OF THE TOWN OF SOUTHAMPTON, LONG ISLAND, N. Y. With other documents of historic value, including the records from 1717 to 1807; transcribed with notes and introduction by WM. S. PELLETREAU. 8vo, pp. 411, and Index, xix. JOHN H. HUNT, Printer, Sag Harbor. 1878.

The first volume of these records was printed in 1874; the second followed in 1877; the present completes the series. In the dedication of the work the conscientious editor informs us that he is indebted for a large part of the early history of the town to the minute descriptions of one Henry Pierson, who was the town clerk from 1653 to 1669; the third is likewise dedicated to the memory of Christopher Foster, who held the same post from 1717 to 1742.

A patent from James Farrett of Long Island, Deputy to the Right Honorable the Earl of Stirling, Secretary for the Kingdom of Scotland, made on the 17th April, 1640, empowered Danyell How, Job Sayre, George Wilbe, William Harker, together with their associates, to "sitt downe upon Long Island there to possesss, improve and enjoy Eight miles square of land." The Earl of Stirling held the patent of Long Island from the King. Farrett's grant was confirmed by Governor John Winthrop, upon condition of a yearly rent to the Earl of four bushels of the best Indian corn of the patentee's growing. The plantation was called Southampton. The title was made secure by a deed from Pomahect and his associates, "the native Inhabitants and true owners of the eastern part of Long Island," by a deed of all the lands eastward of Shinecoke plain for the consideration of sixteen coats, three score bushels of Indian corn, and protection against hostile Indians. The records continue from these beginnings to the year 1804. They abound, as the careful compiler informs us, in the richest and rarest authorities for the antiquarian, genealogist and historian.

THE RIGHT FLANK AT GETTYSBURG. An account of the operations of General Gregg's Cavalry Command, showing their important bearing upon the results of the battle. By WILLIAM BROOKE-RAWLE. 8vo, pp. 27. Philadelphia. 1878.

The story of Gregg's fight, says Mr. Rawle, had never been told. It is fortunate the relation fell upon one who witnessed and participated in the events he describes, and who writes in clear and becoming style, The occasion was the determined effort of the Confederate cavalry to reach the Baltimore pike in the rear of the Army of the Potomac, then hotly engaged in the repulse of Pickett's assault on Cemetery Ridge. Gregg and Custer led their columns agains Stuart, Hampton and Fitz Lee, and in a hand to hand fight, sabres only being used by the Union troops, the Confederate cavalry were swept from the field. What remained of it was withdrawn by Stuart to the York pike to cover Lee's retreat towards the Potomac. Custer, in his report of the action, said: "I challenge the annals of warfare to produce a more brilliant or successful charge of cavalry than the one just recounted."

MEMORANDA OF THE DESCENDANTS OF AMOS MORRIS OF EAST HAVEN, CONN. 12mo, pp. 103. A. S. BARNES & Co. New York. 1878.

Our attention has been invited to this genealogic sketch of a well-known Connecticut family, which will prove of interest to students of this branch of knowledge. Thomas Morris was the first resident proprietor of the tract of land known as Morris Point in East Haven, New Haven County, Connecticut. He arrived in Massachusetts on the 3d June, 1637, and the next year moved westward to Quinnipiac, now New Haven. He was a ship-builder by trade, and purchased the convenient tract now known as Morris Point on the 16th March, 1671. His son Amos was one of twelve children. He married Lydia Camp. Their descendants are here recorded; among them many of the well-known and respected names of the old Connecticut Colony. An appendix gives an account of a meeting held on the old family ground, July 4, 1850.

SWINTON'S CONDENSED UNITED STATES. A condensed School History of the United States, constructed for definite results in recitation, and containing a new method of topical reviews. By WILLIAM SWINTON, A. M. With colored Maps and many Illustrations. Revised edition. 12mo, pp. 329. IVISON, BLAKEMAN, TAYLOR & Co. New York and Chicago. 1879.

Professor Swinton is too well known to our readers to need any commendation at our hands. This is designed as a working book for the use of teachers in our common schools who seek for definite results from their labors. The need of such a work was demonstrated to him in the course of his experience in class-room recitation. It abounds in text illustrations, which from their simplicity are clear to the youthful mind.

BARNES' POPULAR HISTORY—A POPULAR HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. By the author of Barnes' Brief History of the United States for Schools. 8vo, pp. 631. A. S. BARNES & Co. New York, Chicago and New Orleans. 1878.

Here we have in one volume a complete history of the country, from the earliest times of which any account or tradition exists until the present day. Five parts cover the entire period. Part I, an introduction, is devoted to chapters on the early history of America; its explorations and settlement, the colonial wars and colonial life. The last of these is a novel feature, and contains a mass of detail concerning the daily habits of our ancestors "in the good old colony days" condensed into compact space. Here we find descriptions of the days of muster, of thanksgiving and Christmas in their old mode of observance; of the ways and manner of travel, of the feasts and junketings of the fathers, sombre among the Puritans of New England, seriously comic among the Dutch of New York, gay and rollicking in the Southern region. Part II tells the story of the revolution. Part III unfolds the history of the development of the republic and the assurance of our nationality. Part IV, the gloomy, yet glorious period of the civil war. Part V, the decade of reconstruction. An appendix supplies some side sketches. Especially we invite attention to an admirable chronological table of the War of the Revolution, which in its arrangement and distribution of texts is in itself worth to the student, who needs to make daily references to establish the exact dates of events and their correlative importance, the price of the volume.

The style is admirably clear, and the judgments of the author impartial and dispassionate. For daily use, we know of no more excellent companion. It is in every sense a working volume, and we commend it with unstinted praise.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE BOARD OF REGENTS OF THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION, showing the operations, expenditures and condition of the Institution for the year 1877. 8vo, pp. 481. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE. Washington, 1878.

The Report of the Secretary, of January of last year, bears the signature of the lamented Henry, its late distinguished Secretary, whose loss the world of science and the nation at large was called on to mourn last year. The report shows the total Smithson funds invested to have been on January 6, 1878, $710,645.90. The receipts for 1877, $49,007.62, and the expenditures in same period, $44,952.90, leaving a cash balance at the beginning of the year 1878, including $4,054.52 unexpended income of 1877, of $25,083.90.

Some of the papers appended to this report, for instance, the Stock in trade of an aboriginal lapidary and Aboriginal structures in Florida, have already received notice at our hands from advance sheets of this publication. We now invite attention to the papers on the Antiquities in Colorado, by George L. Cannon of Idaho Springs; Antiquities in Wisconsin, by Moses Strong of Mineral Point; The Mounds and Osteology of the Moundbuilders of Wisconsin, by Dr. J. N. de Hart of Mendota; the Moundbuilders in the Rock River Valley, Illinois, by James Shaw of Mount Carroll; Ancient Earthworks in Ohio, by Dr. George W. Hill of Ashland; Antiquities of Tennessee, by W. M. Clark of Franklin; and other minor papers on kindred subjects, which make together one of the most valuable collections of the results of American archæologic investigation yet published. With such earnest laborers, the prehistoric history of the American continent will soon have no secrets unrevealed.

THE HISTORY OF OUR COUNTRY, FROM ITS DISCOVERY BY COLUMBUS TO THE CELEBRATION OF THE CENTENNIAL ANNIVERSARY OF ITS DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE. Embracing an account of its discovery; narratives of the struggles of its early settlers; sketches of its heroes; the history of the war for independence and the war for nationality; its industrial successes, and a record of its whole progress as a nation. By ABBY SAGE RICHARDSON. Illustrated. 8vo, pp. 635. [The Riverside Press.] HOUGHTON, OSGOOD & Co. Boston, 1879.

It would be idle to expect to find anything new in a work of this character. The utmost we can look for is a variation in the manner of presentation of the old story. This the publishers may justly claim to have reached in the admirable colloquial style of the accomplished lady, whose pen they have called into service. Women are born teachers, and make more lasting impressions with their suave manners than the ruder sex with its imperious sternness.

The arrangement adopted is simple. Part I recites in fifty-three easy chapters the Story of the Colonies, from Infancy to Independence. Part II, the Story of the Nation; its birth, conflicts and triumphs in fifty-one chapters, closing with an appendix, giving an account of the Centennial International exhibition at Philadelphia.

Numerous cuts illlustrate the volume.

A REVIEW OF THE HALIFAX FISHERY AWARD—AS IT STRIKES A PRIVATE CITIZEN. By ALEXANDER BLISS. 8vo, pp. 24. Washington. 1878.

The American mind is fully made up as to the injustice of the award of the Commissioners in this long protracted dispute. In this argument Mr. Bliss considers the subject fairly and dispassionately and shows clearly that the award was based upon incorrect and unjust premises, and extravagant in amount. The President, to whom it was referred to decide whether the sum awarded be now paid, or further delays had, has very properly ordered immediate payment. As Mr. Bliss justly remarks, "The saddest result perhaps of this award will be the shaken confidence of the American mind in the efficacy of arbitration as a remedy in international disputes." The diplomatic management of this dispute on the American side is severely criticised.

BRYANT AMONG HIS COUNTRYMEN: THE POET, THE PATRIOT, THE MAN. An Oration before the Goethe Club, Wednesday evening, October 30, 1878. By SAMUEL OSGOOD, D.D., LL.D. 8vo, pp. 34. G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS. New York, 1879.

To us of New York one of the most pleasant recollections of the poet-sage of America was the reception given to him by the Goethe Club at the art rooms of Mr. Kurtz in the fall of 1877. In reply to the welcome words of Dr. Ruppaner, the honored guest made a response which can never be forgotten by those who listened to it. The close thought, the choice and appropriate English clothing in which it was rendered were anticipated; but the vigor of utterance, the unfaltering, unwavering diction were simply a marvel coming from one of his venerable years. Not Everett himself in the plentitude of his powers was ever more precise, more accurate in his delivery. It was with appropriate reverence and a just conception of the fitness of things that the Goethe Club, which he had so honored, paid a tribute to his character and genius. Nor could an orator more peculiarly fitted to render that tribute, in the precise measure that became the occasion, have been selected than the accomplished scholar, orator and man of letters, whose relations with Mr. Bryant had combined those of pastor and friend.

In nothing has the hold Mr. Bryant had upon the thought and the affection of the community been more strikingly shown than in the diversity of the tributes paid to his memory. No single biographer could have displayed his multiform nature as happily as it has been presented in separate detail, just as the precise place of a star in the galaxy of heaven is best ascertained by distinct observations from different points of view. Perhaps one quality of his writings alone remains untouched—his wonderful mastery of the strongest, simplest forms of the English tongue, in which Milton in poetry and Webster in prose were alone his equals. Superiors in his happiest moods he had none. To this quality no adequate tribute has yet been paid.

The examination of Dr. Osgood is essentially phsycological in its treatment. He analyses the elements of his moral and intellectual character, and shows the influence of each upon the other, and of both upon the society in which he moved and the larger world whom his poetic power reached and instructed. Most pleasing is the orator's description of the softening influence of age upon his nature, and the mellowness of the sunset of his years.

ARTIST-BIOGRAPHIES—ALLSTON. 16mo, pp. 192. The Riverside Press. HOUGHTON, OSGOOD & CO. Boston, 1879.

In this short, but pleasing and readable sketch all that is known of this distinguished artist, whose fame was once national, has been gathered with tender hand. His own sayings have been carefully preserved, and every allusion to him culled from the memoirs of his artist contemporaries, with many of whom he was on intimate terms. Mr. Sweetzer considers him one of the highest products of American civilization and European culture combined, possessed of the full affluence of literary genius, artistic knowledge, refinement, purity and religion, as few other men of the Western World have been before or since. He was perhaps better known in England, where he painted many of his earlier pictures, than at home, and was elected an associate of the Royal Academy without the usual form of solicitation.

His correct taste early led him to avoid the mannerism of West, misnamed classical, and to follow nature closely, while his ambition was not content except with the most sublime subjects, and on the largest scale. Of these his most celebrated treatments were the great painting of Belshazzar's Feast, which was never wholly completed; Elijah in the Desert, now in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, and Jeremiah, the property of Yale College.

For his richness of coloring, he received at Rome the name of the American Titian; yet in no work of his life did he realize the promise of his genius. His versatility may have been the cause of this. It is not to every one that the gods have permitted, as to Michael Angelo, to be great in everything. In this the life of Allston may serve as a lesson to artists. It is here written in a graceful and pleasing manner.

THE HISTORY OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE RIGHT HONORABLE FREDERICK TEMPLE, EARL OF DUFFERIN, LATE GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF CANADA. By WILLIAM LEGGO. 8vo, pp. 901. LOVELL PRINTING AND PUBLISHING CO., Montreal. G. MERCER ADAM, Toronto. 1878.

In this elaborate volume Mr. Leggo, a well-known barrister of Ottawa, has collected from the State papers of Canada all that concerns the administration of its late enlightened, liberal and distinguished Governor-General, and added all of his speeches on occasions of public interest, festive as well as political. No small task, when we consider the facility with which the Earl undertook the work of oral instruction whenever an opportunity presented itself; and they were not rare, as any one who has experienced the hospitalities of our kinsmen over the border, public and private, will understand.

The purpose of the book, the author announces, is to point out the gradual development of the system of "Responsible Government" in Canada, the central stone in the now complete arch, of which he ascribes to the Earl of Dufferin the honor of posing. It is not to be expected that the people on this side of the line will take much interest in the detail of this movement, although its general bearings are not without their consequence to us. Those who are personally acquainted with the late Governor will find interest and amusement in his speeches, which are replete with the humor peculiar to his Irish origin, a humor with which we also are not without means of large acquaintance. Of this class of oratory, the most characteristic is his reply to the joint address of the municipal corporation of Ontario on his departure from Canada, in which he claimed all mankind as kin, because, with rare exceptions, of Irish descent, or the next thing to it; Lord Lorne, his successor, included. Not the least difficult of the tasks of the husband of the Queen's daughter will be that he has to succeed a man as genial and a statesman as liberal as the Earl of Dufferin.

NEW PERIODICALS

PROGRESS; A MIRROR FOR MEN AND WOMEN. [A weekly periodical; pp. 20.] JOHN W. FORNEY, Editor and Proprietor. Philadelphia, 1878.

The first number of this excellent weekly periodical appeared on the 16th of November, 1878. It has since continued to grow in grace and favor. No man in this country knows better what the American people need in the way of periodical instruction and amusement than the accomplished gentleman who has taken this new start in journalism, and leaping from the traces of established usage has led the way in a new style, which he appropriately terms Progress. Abandoning the old practice of long and labored editorials, he treats of all that affects our life in short and pregnant paragraphs. Politics, old and new history, biography, foreign travel, the drama and opera—all receive appropriate attention; and indeed no one of these fields has been explored with more profit to American culture than by Mr. Forney himself. None so well fitted as he to direct an enterprise where each of these subjects has its assigned place.

We most heartily wish him a complete success.

THE SATURDAY MAGAZINE; A JOURNAL OF HOME AND FOREIGN LITERATURE. [A weekly periodical.] 8vo, pp. 32. LEE & SHEPARD, publishers. Boston.

This new periodical announces its intention to be mainly a selection from the best material of foreign periodicals. It is printed in the style so familiar to us in a number of the lighter and more popular English issues of this character. The editors ask for opinions and suggestions as to its conduct. We venture the opinion that it devote a part of its pages to translations of the French and German reviews. Here is a field almost untouched and full of rich material. There is not a number of the Revue des Deux Mondes or the Contemporaine which does not contain something attractive. Take, for instance, Admiral de la Gravière's sketch of the navy of the past and of the future. Not all the published histories of Greece contain such vivid accounts of the great battles between the hosts of Xerxes and the Grecian bands as this masterly exposition; or look again at the descriptions of ancient architectural Rome as drawn from recent explorations, which appeared last year.

These are hints which may or not be valuable. In its greeting the editors announce that the magazine means to be "agreeable, useful, cleanly and honorable; a fountain of pleasant thoughts and fresh knowledge, and a helper of all that is good." That this it would be the names of the editors gave sure warrant. That this it is the reader can easily see for himself. We commend it heartily to every household. Its success is certain. It is the very thing for an after-dinner lounge of man or woman, youth or damsel of good degree.

NOTICE

The page entitled Letters from Washington, and signed by the Editor, which prefaces this number, was accidentally omitted from the February (Washington) number by the binders. In binding the volume at the close of the year it can be transferred to its proper place.

EDITOR

BELVEDERE—HOME OF COL. JOHN EAGER HOWARD—BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

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THE INFLUENCE OF NEW YORK ON AMERICAN JURISPRUDENCE

WE cannot feel the full interest of the history of the opening of the new capitol of the State of New York unless we bear in mind the events running through nearly three centuries, which have consecrated the ground on which it stands. There is no place in the Union which is associated with so many varied and far-reaching facts, which have influenced the destinies of this continent, as the city of Albany. For more than two hundred and fifty years the flags of Holland, of Britain, or of the American Union have waved over it. Before our Independence they were hung out upon the battlements of forts, built there to guard against savage foes or to resist the invasions of the armies of France or of Britain during the French or revolutionary wars. From its earliest settlement to the present day, under all governments, what has been done at this point has concerned not alone its citizens, or those of this province or State, but the people of all the colonies which entered into our Union, and in no small degree nearly all sections of this great continent. A glance at its history will show that Albany was in fact the colonial capital; the point at which councils were held, treaties were made, armies were organized. It was the base from which they moved upon hostile regions; it was the point which in all wars our enemies sought to conquer. It was not an accidental thing that the project of a union between the colonies was first put in form in Albany by Benjamin Franklin in 1754. The seeds of that conception were sown many years before, and slowly but surely germinated under the influence of events constantly occurring within the province of New York. Albany has been justly termed the birthplace of the Union; not on account of some accidental gathering, or bold conception of a leading mind. A long series of events had made for many purposes a practical union of the colonies. The citizens who had

lived for half a century under the flag of Holland, had been taught the value of the maxim which bound its provinces into one nationality—"*In unity there is strength.*" It was at this point that the agents of the colonies on the Atlantic coast first learned about the interior of the continent and its systems of lakes and rivers. These taught them that the people who lived upon their banks and courses should be united by some bond of union which would give them not only the benefit of united strength, but freedom of intercourse and benefits of commerce.

When in 1609, Hendrick Hudson, in search of a direct water route from Europe to the eastern shores of Asia, reached the site of Albany, his hopes were blighted on finding that he was ascending a great river and not floating upon an arm of the sea, which would bear him to the Pacific ocean, and crown with success the search to which he had devoted his energies and life. It is a sad thought that in the following year he perished without knowing that he had made a discovery in value far beyond the one which he sought; that what he deemed a failure would give him enduring fame. He did not know that the wind and tides which had swept his ship through the gorge of the highlands had borne it beyond the mountain range, which, for more that a thousand miles, made a barrier between the Atlantic coast and the interior of this continent. He perished, miserably betrayed by his seamen, without the knowledge that the range of hills which he saw from this point, stretching westward through the southern part of this State, was one of the most remarkable watersheds on the face of the earth; that from its northern and southern slopes were poured streams which found outlets in the frozen region of the north or tepid waters of tropical seas. He never knew that the noble stream which gives him enduring fame would be the pathway between the ocean and a system of rivers which are God's bonds of union, holding together all sections of our country in ways more lasting than covenants or constitutions. He did not in the madness of delirium, which weakened nature often brings to hide the horrors of approaching death, imagine anything so wonderful as the fact that he had discovered a valley through which would pass the greatest movements of the human race which history has recorded. Not one which by the invasions of wild hordes, or the march of armies, carried death and desolation in their tracks, but a movement of civilization upon barbarous wastes, which has filled this great continent with arts and commerce, and prosperous towns and cities. If, at a moment when

crushed hopes, cruel treachery and a terrible death overwhelmed him, he could have had but a glimpse of all that followed his discovery of the grand river flowing by the Capital of our State, how would the gloom of despair have brightened into the joy of glorious triumph!

Commercial enterprise followed close upon the discovery of Hudson. Before the character of our Atlantic coast had been learned the Hollanders sent trading ships to the port of Albany, and in 1614 they made a settlement on an island adjoining the lower part of the city. Fort Orange stood upon the bank of the river. To protect the citizens palisades were put up around the settlement, and guard houses built upon the high ground now crowned by the Capitol. This hill, then flanked by deep ravines on either side, and by a steep bluff in front, overhung the site of the city. The foot of this high cliff closed up State street where St. Peter's Church and the Geological Hall now stand. Upon its top, during more than two centuries, have been put up a succession of rude blockhouses, wooden forts, stone fortress, the old Capitol, the vast structure now brought into use, which ranks among the great buildings of the world. It was not until the beginning of this century that the face of the bluff was graded down so that State street could be made an avenue leading to the western part of the city. In 1614 from Nova Scotia to the Spanish forts in Florida lay a wilderness unbroken save by the feeble and disorganized settlement at Jamestown; and as that was afterwards abandoned, Albany is the oldest town and oldest chartered city in the thirteen original States. At the time of Hudson's discovery a large share of the earth's surface was unknown to civilized nations. It was a period in the history of Holland when, in the words of its New England historian, "in every branch of human industry these republicans took the lead." Its navigators were bold and enterprising. When they decided upon a permanent settlement on this continent they did not, like other people, plant themselves upon the seaboard, but boldly pushed through the highlands to the head of navigation and laid the foundation of a city *west of the Allegheny barriers*. This fact has been potent in its influence on the history of our country. They placed themselves upon the pivotal point, upon which so many of its great events were to turn. The flow of the Hudson would bear them to the Atlantic through the very roots of the Alleghenies. The level valleys of the upper Hudson and the Mohawk opened easy pathways to the St. Lawrence on the north, and to the great lakes and tributaries of the Mississippi on the west. We, who are proud of our English descent, must admit that no other people were so well fitted as the Hollanders

to hold this commanding position, and to defeat the designs of the French upon this continent. Their commercial enterprises in every quarter of the world had taught them how to deal with savage tribes. Here they were brought into contact with the Iroquois. This powerful confederacy held control over the country from the coast to the Mississippi and Illinois rivers, and from north of the great lakes to the present State of North Carolina.

Those who have not studied with care the details of our colonial history can have but a faint idea of the power wielded by this Indian Confederacy, or the terror with which they had filled the minds of other tribes. In his exploration in Virginia, Captain Smith was told by the Indians whom he met in that region, that the Iroquois were so powerful that they waged war with the whole world.

Colden says in his history, "I have been told by old men of New England, who remembered the time when the Mohawks made war on their Indians, that as soon as a single Mohawk was discovered in the country these Indians raised a cry from hill to hill, 'A Mohawk, a Mohawk,' upon which they all fled like sheep before wolves, without attempting to make the least resistance, whatever odds were on their side. All the nations around them have for many years entirely submitted to them, and pay a yearly tribute to them in wampum."

For nearly a hundred years the monarchs of France and Britain sought their alliance, and used every subtlety of diplomacy to gain their good will. It was felt upon both sides that these savages held the balance of power. It was only through them that Great Britain could make a claim to any part of the territory of New York west of Rome, or north of the dividing ridge from which flow the waters into the St. Lawrence and the Hudson.

I wish to bring into view those facts in nature and in the course of events which have given our State its prominence in jurisprudence. From the outset, the government of the territories of New York, under all flags, has excelled in this respect, and has exerted an influence in that greater than it has had in other departments of our social and political systems. The assertion of this fact does not grow out of any undue partiality with regard to my native State. It is upheld by the testimony of those who were not at all times disposed to speak well of those who founded or controlled it. John Adams wrote to Chief-Justice Jay that the first constitution of New York excelled that of all other States. Attorney General Randolph, of Virginia, states that the contests of its colonies with the royal Governors were

conducted with signal ability, and he pronounced their protests and arguments to be the ablest expositions of the rights of popular representatives. The historian, Pitkins, of Connecticut, says that the resolutions of the New York Colonial Assembly were drawn with consummate ability; and "breathed a spirit more bold and decided than of any other colony." When we read the constitutions of the Western States, or the decisions of their courts, or note the Acts of their Legislatures, we see that our judiciary and our civil polity have exerted a marked influence in the newer sections of the Union. I have said that the first colonists were confronted at Albany by the Indian confederacy. We must not fall into the error of thinking that this merely involved a savage warfare, or led to a system of overreaching ignorant savages after the fashion of our times. The Iroquois were not only the proud and powerful conquerors of a vast territory, but, by the testimony even of their enemies, they were a politic people.

D. La Potière, a Frenchman and an enemy, says in his history of North America: "When we speak of the Five Nations in France they are thought, by a common mistake, to be mere Barbarians, always thirsting for blood; but their characters are very different. They are indeed, the fiercest and most formidable people in North America, and at the same time are as politic and judicious as can well be conceived, and this appears from their management of all affairs which they have not only with the French and English, but likewise with almost all of the Indians of this vast continent."

Colden, alluding to their civil polity, says in 1747: "Each of these nations is an absolute republic by itself, and every castle in each nation is governed, in all public affairs, by its own sachems or old men. The authority of these rulers is gained by and consists wholly in the opinion the rest of the nation have of their integrity and wisdom. Their great men, both sachems and captains, are generally poorer than the common people, and they affect to give away and distribute all the presents or plunder they get in their treaties or in wars, so as to leave nothing to themselves. There is not a man in the members of the Five Nations who has gained his office otherwise than by merit. There is not the least salary, or any sort of profit annexed to any office to tempt the covetous or sordid, but on the contrary, every unworthy action is unavoidably attended with the forfeiture of their commissions; for their authority is only the esteem of the people, and ceases the moment that esteem is lost." To maintain peace with this powerful confederacy, to hold them in alliance against the Crown of

France, demanded prudence, courage and ability of a high order. These were developed to such degree that after the power of the Hollanders was overthrown, and during a century of struggle for supremacy on this continent, the British government mainly relied upon the influence of citizens of Albany to keep the Iroquois from going over to the French. In doing this they had not only to cope with the suspicion of the Indians, with the military power of France, but also with influence of French missionaries, who exhibited the most remarkable religious zeal, self-sacrifice and courage ever displayed on our continent. These did not content themselves with founding colonies in which their religious views should govern, but they boldly pushed their way through the vast wilderness of this continent to unknown savage tribes, with no protection save that which zeal and faith might give them in the eyes of those who looked upon all strangers as those whom they should destroy. Outstripping the march of armies, or the enterprise of trade in its greed for gold, they traversed North America to such extent, that the scenes of their labors were not in many cases reached by our pioneer settlers until the lapse of nearly a century. This zeal, this courage, that never shrunk from martyrdom, was exerted to detach the Iroquois from the British alliance. Many lost their lives in these attempts, suffering cruel torments; one was burned at the stake in the valley of the Mohawk. To contend against their efforts was no mean training in diplomacy and in statesmanship. Mainly through the influence of the citizens of Albany this was done. The Iroquois were taught to look upon the ground on which the new Capitol stands as a place sacred to keeping bright the chains of amity. With that great regard for usage which marks unlettered tribes, they called it the *ancient place of treaties*; and this term, in their minds, meant more than mere antiquity; it meant a higher degree of solemnity, and more lasting obligations in treaties made at Albany than elsewhere.

The diplomatic dealings with these tribes did not relate to the safety of Albany, or to the interest of the province of New York alone, but they concerned the safety and the interest of all the British colonies on this continent. Whoever will study the records of our State from the earliest days, will find that from Nova Scotia to Georgia, nearly one thousand miles, agents and officers of all the colonies resorted to Albany to gain the aid of its citizens in making peace with the Iroquois, or to obtain their help against other Indian tribes in warfare, or to get them to act as the defenders of the feeble settlements when menaced with destruction. When the Governor of Nova Scotia sought to check Indian war

upon its borders, agents were sent to this point. When King Phillip threatened the existence of the Puritans in New England, Massachusetts and Connecticut sent their commissioners here to invoke the aid of the Mohawks. When the Carolinas were reduced to desperate straits by Indian wars, their Governor sought in Albany to persuade the Five Nations to interpose in their behalf. Such events mark almost every year of colonial history, and their mere lists show clearly that this was the political center where consultations were held, and where the common interest and policy were considered. Not only did Indian affairs thus train men in jurisprudence, but the struggle between France and England did much to educate all the colonists. It concerned the greatest of all questions which have been settled on this continent, namely: Should its civilization, customs and laws be those of France or of England? The result for many years was uncertain. The warfare was not merely that of savage tribes, or of rude border men almost as wild, for both of the great powers sent here their disciplined armies, led by men of rank, skill and culture. The contest was not waged here alone, but it was connected with the ambitious designs of Louis the Great for the domination of Europe. His wars, which fill so many pages of history, and so deeply affected the rights and liberties of nations, were watched with interest by the colonists, who were made intelligent with regard to them by the events on their own soil, in which they bore a part. The battles of Marlborough and the victory at Blenheim concerned this continent more than that of Europe; for had the result been reversed, the British would have been confined to the narrow strip of seacoast lying between the Atlantic and the eastern slope of the Alleghenies. In that and all other foreign wars in which our country has been engaged, Albany was the point from which most of the forces were sent out. In the history of our country, from the first invasion of the French in 1665, that part of New York lying along Lake Champlain and the upper Hudson has been the field of strife and blood in fifteen campaigns; an equal number of expeditions have followed the course of the Mohawk. So important was the position of this province during the colonial period, that the Lords of Trade and Plantations urged the Crown, in 1721, to make it the seat of government of a Captain-General, who should have control over all the colonies in matters relating to military affairs and the interests of the King.

The colonial French war involved the combatants in greater cost of blood and money than the revolutionary contest. In many ways it

was more important in its influences. It determined the character of the civilization of this continent, its habits and usages. Its independence of Europe, whatever might be the result, was a matter of time. In 1757 Lord Chatham, determined to expel the French from this continent, placed Lord Amherst at the head of an army of fifty thousand men; a greater force than was employed against us at any time during the Revolutionary war. One division was sent up the valley of the Mohawk from Albany, another by the way of the upper Hudson through Lake Champlain, to Canada, while the British fleet forced its way up the St. Lawrence. This campaign ended in the capture of Quebec, the dramatic deaths of the rival heroes Wolfe and Montcalm, and the extinction of the French power on the eastern side of this continent. The cost of that war makes a large item in the present debt of Great Britain. More than ten millions of dollars were spent in fortifying Crown Point, on Lake Champlain, although the work was never finished.

This great war, from the nature of the struggle and from the contrast between the British and French governments constantly presented to the minds of the colonists, did much to educate the people with regard to public affairs. The center of military operations became the center of public knowledge; for at that day there was but little intercourse save that which grew out of the exigencies of war. All the aspects of the colonial history of New York show that its people were never limited in their views to the interests of their own province, but that the course of events at all times trained them to a knowledge of, and an interest in the affairs of other colonies.

But the lessons of war and diplomacy with foreign enemies fell short of the knowledge the people of this province gained in their contests with the royal Governors. Some of these, like Lord Cornbury, the cousin of Queen Anne; the colonial Governor, Clinton, an Admiral in the British navy and a relative of the Duke of Newcastle, then head of the British administration, were men wanting in capacity and integrity. All their efforts were directed to get money to mend their broken fortunes. New York had no charter which defined the rights of the colony. In their defence they were forced to plant themselves upon principles of jurisprudence, and were thus educated to clear ideas of the rights of governments, and of the governed. Their discussions can be read to-day with profit by those who care to learn where the political wisdom was gained which enabled our fathers to frame the government under which we live. Many years before the crown drove the colonies to united resist-

ance to its action, the delegates to the Colonial Assembly in New York had asserted and maintained the rights for which our fathers battled in the Revolution. The Act declaring what are "*the rights and privileges of their Majesty's subjects inhabiting within their province of New York*," passed in 1691, in the reign of William and Mary, is as clear and firm in tone as those which were asserted nearly one century later at the outbreak of the war for independence.

Besides the facts I have set forth which educated the people of this province with regard to their rights, to the policy of legislation and the duties of the judiciary, there was another which gave breadth and wisdom to our jurisprudence, beyond that exhibited elsewhere. While the Hollanders of that day did not come up to our ideas of toleration, they were in advance of other nations in this respect. They were also free from the prejudices against the people of other countries, which was a marked feature of their times; and particularly with the English. We are apt to charge upon the theology of the Puritans of New England much of the harshness that was due to their nationality. When Theodore Ward, one of the authors of the Code of Liberty of Massachusetts, in his book entitled, "Letters from the Simple Cobbler of Agawam," said that he hated religious toleration which make a hell upon earth, and that he hated to have foreigners come to dwell in the land," it was the Englishman more than the Puritan that spoke.

The same spirit was shown by that race in other colonies. Even in Maryland, where the first Catholic proprietor, by his charter, granted religious freedom to all; when those who differed from his religious views gained power they persecuted those of his creed. Nor was this hostility shown alone towards those differing from them in faith: the English in Carolina for a long time protested against giving Huguenots the rights of citizenship or of holding property. The same spirit involved them in constant wars with the Indian tribes. The rule that English interests and not the rights of others should regulate action, has not lost its power. It involves Great Britain in constant wars in all quarters of our globe, and it convinces the British people that they are wronged and imposed upon by the most remote, feeble and ignorant tribes. If the English instead of the Hollanders had first settled Albany it is doubtful if they would have kept an alliance with the Iroquois. If they had failed to do this they would have lost their claim to the country drained into the St. Lawrence and Mississippi; for their only offset to the French right of discovery of these rivers was the title of the Iroquois to the

regions in dispute. We who are of English descent, and who are proud of our lineage, have reason to rejoice that the Hollanders first occupied this State. Their wide commerce had brought them in contact with all races. Their wealth and power grew out of intercourse with others. They welcomed all incomers to their territory. This drew to this province a greater variety of nationalities than can be found in the histories of the foundations of other States. This made our population cosmopolitan; and beyond all other facts gave to our jurisprudence its superiority. It saved us from provincial prejudices, and from the narrowness engendered in the minds of those who hear but one side of questions, and witness but one phase of teaching. The influence of this fact has not been limited to our State. Its people, holding the gateways into the interior of our continent, have welcomed all classes of immigrants. It is our faith that the same natural features and diversity of lineage and creed that have made New York the Empire State will, on a grander scale, give to our country a higher civilization than the world has yet seen. The history of this State enables us to forecast the future of our union. Its great rivers and lakes and valleys will ever make living channels of commerce. Its varied climate and productions will keep alive active and constant intercourse and exchange among its people. Its differing creeds and its varied lineages will teach a larger liberality and more generous sympathies than exist on smaller theatres with narrower ranges of thought, and more limited views of social or political subjects.

Since the independence of our country, the natural features of New York and the character of its population have been potent, not only in promoting its own growth and greatness, but that of our whole country. Its first constitution showed a greater knowledge of jurisprudence than was exhibited elsewhere. It is a striking, and I think an unparalleled fact in the history of constitutions that upon the Committee of thirteen appointed to draft that instrument, there were men representing no less than six nationalities. This diversity of races which, from the earliest day to the present time, marks the list of those who have filled the office of Judges, Legislators and Governors, has had a great influence in shaping the civil polity of our State.

While the basis of our civilization is English, it has been re-inforced and liberalized by other elements. Our great country will not be cut up as Europe is into smaller districts, whose people are made strangers by differences of languages and laws. On our continent,

in the future, with its vast population, all forms of merit will gain higher rewards, and the applause of greater multitudes than elsewhere. Our literature will receive a wider support, and will draw its inspiration from the legends, the histories, the aspirations, not of one, but of many nationalities. The position of New York, with its command of the harbor which first welcomes the incomers from Europe, and of the great pathways through which they seek their homes in the interior, has done much to shape our social organization, and to hold in check the prejudices which sometimes show themselves in the minds of those who are only familiar with social ideas which prevail outside of the great theatres of action.

The most important subjects of our legislation also relate to facts which concern other States as well as our own. These have always kept alive in the minds of our people their relationship to the interests and prosperity of other parts of our Union. We have a striking proof of this in the history of our internal improvements. When we were inferior to Virginia and Massachusetts in numbers, wealth, and power; when the hardy settlers in the then wilderness of Western New York were impoverished because there was no way of reaching markets with their products; when in the days of our poverty we undertook the work of uniting the great lakes with the harbor of New York, which was then deemed, not only in our own country, but in Europe, one of the bold enterprises of the world, it was not urged alone upon the ground of our necessities, or the gain it would bring to ourselves, but rising above local interests, in the preamble of the Act by which this State entered upon this great work, these words were used: "Whereas—navigable communication between Lakes Erie and Champlain and the Atlantic ocean by means of canals connected with the Hudson river will promote agriculture, manufactures and commerce, mitigate the calamities of war and enhance the blessings of peace, consolidate the Union, and advance the prosperity, and elevate the character of the United States; And Whereas, it is the incumbent duty of the people of this State to avail themselves of the means which the Almighty has placed in their power for the production of such signal, extensive and lasting benefits to the human race," etc. These grand, patriotic considerations, and not merely local gain, were urged by leading men as reasons for taking the hazard of an undertaking deemed by many too great for our resources.

Acting upon this wise and enlarged policy of identifying ourselves with the common interest of our Union, although Congress and the

Legislatures of other States refused to aid the project, our State has not sought, like the robbers upon the Rhine, to make its command of the avenues of commerce the means of extorting tribute from those who have used our channels, but it has reduced tolls upon its canals to the lowest point, and has thrown off from our lines of railroads the income which, by charters, were to be paid into the treasury of the State. It cannot be charged against New York that it has ever sought to build up any of its special interests, or to support any of its peculiar industries by taxation levied upon the people of this Union.

It has never faltered in the support of the General Government in its war with foreign enemies, although its territories were most exposed to attack, and most frequently the scenes of battle and of bloodshed. At the outset of the revolution, although New York of all the colonies had been the first, the most clear and persistent in asserting its rights through a long series of years, the British King hoped its people would not be united in resistance to his authority. The patronage of the Crown and the expenditures for armies and free grants of land had built up strong interest in its favor. But its great reliance was upon the exposed condition of the province in the case of war. Its western sections and the valley of the Mohawk were filled with Indian tribes governed by the agents of the King. These were ready to kill without regard to age, sex or condition. Lake Champlain and the upper Hudson made a pathway from Canada into the heart of the province, and British fleets could control the harbor of New York. The patriots of the colony had been taught by the past that when they took up arms they were to suffer the horrors of Indian warfare and the calamities of invading armies. They knew the contest must turn upon the control of their territories, and that war could never cease here until liberty was won or lost. Other sections might at times be invaded, but neither party could withdraw its forces from the banks of the Hudson while the conflict lasted. They did not shrink from perils clearly foreseen. They were ready to encounter savage hordes, disciplined armies, or domestic foes. In no other quarter was the contest so fierce and unrelenting. It did not merely demand the enlistment of men to fight upon the battlefields, but the exposure of their homes and their families to the torch, the tomahawk, and the brutality of hireling soldiers. The massacres at Cherry valley, along the Mohawk, and on the hills which border it, show the terrible sufferings in the homes of those who lived upon that frontier. While New York and New Jersey were the great centers of the revolutionary struggle, there are no shadows upon the patriotism of

either. Adherents to the Crown increased the dangers of the patriots and in some cases caused the destruction of their lives; but this added to the lustre of their services, and gave a higher value to their patriotism by the demands thus made upon their vigilance and energy.

In the war with Great Britain in 1812 New York was ardent in the support of the cause of our country, its rights and its honor. While elsewhere there were murmurs of discontent, and threats of resistance to measures for filling the ranks of our armies, this State was resolute in the support of the policy of our government, although it led to the invasion of its territories by the same pathways which had been traversed by hostile forces on so many occasions. In the sad civil war New York sent to the support of our Government more men in proportion to its population than any of the States bordering on the Atlantic, and in proportion to its enrollment, more than any in the Union. In some instances, single Congressional districts furnished quotas greater than those of other States with more than twice their population and representation.

This is shown by one of the calls made by the Government for soldiers.

The average ratio of enrollment to the male population in Western States was	19 per cent.
In New Jersey,	20 do.
In Pennsylvania,	18¾ do.
In New England,	17 do.
In State of New York	22 do.
Massachusetts, with ten Congressmen and a population of 1,231,006, had to furnish under a call for 300,000 men	15,126
The first nine Congressional districts of the State of New York, with a population of 1,218,949, were called upon for	25,166
The quota of Vermont and New Hampshire, with a united population of 641,171, and six Representatives in Congress and four Senators, was	7,099
The quota of two Congressional districts in New York, the 4th and 6th, with a population of 283,229, was	7,628

Although these excessive demands were modified, they were still larger than the calls made on other States.

The policy of our State with regard to education has been enlarged and liberal. It has sought by all methods to give knowledge to all classes, and to carry learning in its widest forms into all sections of our State, to enable all, at the least cost, to gain the benefits of higher education; so that those who could not themselves follow all branches of science, or literature, could reap their benefit by association with those who, having had greater advantages, would diffuse them to the mass of community, as electricity passes from one object to another, in ways subtle and yet perfect in results. The early men of our State saw the wants and advantages of our social structure and our equal-intercourse. They felt that the teachings of the pulpit and press, the lecturer's stand and speaker's rostrum, could be brought into action as means of instruction, and they put upon our statute book a grand declaration "that the University of the State of New York is hereby created." These few words meant that our whole territory, not some favored spot, was to be a seat of learning. It taught the grand truth that learning in its best estate is the right of all who seek it, and should be placed within the reach of all.

It will add to the interest with which the new Capitol, just completed, will be viewed, if it shall be looked upon not only with regard to its size, its proportions and adornments; not only as a structure devoted to the legislation of a great State, but also in some degree as a memorial of its past history, and of the events of the place on which it stands, and of that wonderful system of valleys and hills of which it is the center. No man can enter its walls, devoted as they are to the grave and sacred purposes of legislation, without a fervent prayer that those who shall exercise in it the powers of Governors, of Judges and of Lawgivers, may equal the virtues and wisdom displayed by those who have heretofore held the high office of guarding the rights and promoting the welfare of the people of this State. But those who are to make or to administer laws are not to allow their aspirations for usefulness to be limited by the measures of the past. When they have studied its history, when they have seen the height in power to which New York has been lifted, they will be admonished that its motto demands still greater results at their hands, for the word Excelsior glitters upon the escutcheon of our State, teaching the duties of higher motives and more lofty patriotism than even those which have marked its past history.

HORATIO SEYMOUR

THE CONVENTION OF SARATOGA

Among the events of the war of Independence, upon which the American cannot look with unmixed satisfaction, is the Convention of Saratoga, for it is not a military, but an ethical question. Did Congress fulfill its part of the agreement? If not, upon what grounds did she break it? Were those grounds sufficient to justify the violation of a solemn compact? Such are the questions which still lie at the threshold of this inquiry, and which Mr. Deane has discussed in the true spirit of historical research.*

Of the enthusiasm and exultation with which the tidings of this convention were received, both by the army and by the country, the histories of the northern campaign are full. A thoroughly trained British army had laid down its arms at the feet of militiamen and volunteers. The danger of losing the great military line of the Hudson was passed. The communications between the Eastern and Middle States were secured. Well might the Americans feel that the rebellion had become a war, and was entitled to all the rights and privileges of civilized warfare. But was King George ready to acknowledge this position of his rebellious subjects? He had put them out of his protection; was he prepared to receive them back again on their own terms? Thus, though the first feeling was that of triumph on the part of the Americans, the second was that of doubt whether all the conditions of the Convention would be fulfilled by England. In all questions connected with the war of the Revolution, it is safe to begin by ascertaining the opinion of Washington; for Washington's opinion was always carefully formed, and may be considered as expressing that of his most trusty counsellors. The second article of the Convention declares that "A free passage be provided to the army, under Lieutenant-General Burgoyne, to Great Britain, on condition of not serving again in North America during the present contest; and the port of Boston is assigned for the entry of transports to receive the troops whenever General Howe shall so order."

But the presence of the troops in Boston was considered a great hardship. "I must entreat your Excellency's endeavors," writes General Heath, commander of the Eastern Department, to Washington, "to facilitate their removal as soon as possible, as their continuance for any considerable time will greatly distress the inhabitants, both as to provisions and fuel, particularly the latter.

Heath, we see, was thinking of fuel and provisions; for Washington, there was another question, of far more importance. "I have been duly honored with your favor of the 25th ultimo," wrote Washington, to Heath, "and join your honorable Board most heartily in congratulations on our success in the surrender of General Burgoyne and his army, an event of great importance, and which reflects the highest honor upon our arms. In respect to the embarkation of the prisoners, I take it for granted that the beneficial consequences which the British nation would derive from their arrival in England, will be sufficient motives for General Howe to use every possible exertion to get them away, and that no application for that end will be necessary. For as soon as they arrive, they will enable the Ministry to send an equal number of other troops, from their different garrisons, to join him here, or upon any other service againt the American States. I shall be sorry if their remaining should subject you to the inconveniences which you seem to apprehend; and, if they can be accommodated, I think, in point of policy, we should not be anxious for their early departure. As to the transports, if General Howe is in a situation to send them, it is to be presumed that they will be properly appointed with provisions and wood, the terms of Convention not obliging us to furnish their prisoners for a longer time than their continuance in our hands."

It is evident from this and other letters that Washington saw a serious danger in the immediate return of the Convention troops to Great Britain. It is equally evident that, to meet that danger, he thought of no other means than those which are supplied by the Convention itself, and soon a new question arose; might not the English commanders, in order to secure a prompt return, ask to change the place of embarkation from Boston to Rhode Island or the Sound? "Should such a requisition be made," writes Washington to Heath, "it ought not to be complied with upon any principle whatever. It cannot be asked as a matter of right, because, by the articles, Boston is assigned as the port. It should not be granted as a matter of favor, because the indulgence will be attended with most obvious and capital disadvantages to us. Besides the delay, which will necessarily arise from confining them to Boston, as the place of departure, these transports, in a voyage round at this season, may probably suffer considerable injury, and many of them may be blown as far as the West Indies. These considerations, and others needless to be added, have struck me in so important a point of view, that I have thought it expedient to write to you by express. Lieutenant Vallancey, who came with General Burgoyne's

despatches, left this on his return yesterday morning, and I make no doubt in a little time after his arrival, General Burgoyne will request the port of embarkation to be altered. Independently of the impolicy of granting the requisition, it appears to me that no one has authority to do it but Congress." The requisition was made, and Congress, acting upon the suggestion of Washington, refused it.

Meanwhile the troops had reached Boston, where their reception had been anything but cordial. "I cannot speak with satisfaction," writes Burgoyne to Gates, "upon what has passed, and still passes here. The officers are crowded into the barracks six and seven in a room of about ten feet square, and without distinction of rank. The General officers are not better provided for. I and General Phillips, after being amused with promises of quarters for eight days together, are still in a dirty, small, miserable tavern, lodging in a bed together, and all the gentlemen of our suite lodging upon the floor in a chamber adjacent; a good deal worse than their servants have been used to. The only prospect that remains to me personally, is, that I shall be permitted to occupy a house without a table, chair, or any one article of furniture, for the price of an hundred and fifty pounds sterling, till the first of April, but the same sum is to be paid though I should embark in ten days. While I state to you, sir, this very unexpected treatment, I entirely acquit General Heath and every gentleman of the military department of any inattention to the public faith engaged in the Convention. They do what they can, but while the supreme powers of the State are unable or unwilling to enforce their authority, and the inhabitants want the hospitality, or, indeed, the common civilization to assist us without it, the public faith is broke, and we are the immediate sufferers. I cannot close my letter without expressing the sense I entertain of the honor, the candor, and the politeness of your proceedings in every respect towards the army and myself, and I am with sincere regard, sir, your most obedient, humble servant, J. BURGOYNE."

This is a painful picture, and does but little credit to the civil government. But what struck Congress the most, was the charge that the Convention had been broken. Was this a serious accusation, or an expression hastily dropped from the pen of a man justly irritated? It cannot be denied that Burgoyne had good grounds for his complaint. He had signed the Convention in good faith, and as far as he was concerned, fulfilled its obligations.

Still, it was natural that the suspicions of Congress should be awakened. It was well known that the King was not disposed to look

leniently upon the short-comings of his rebellious subjects. It was altogether probable that, if an occasion of calling any article of the Convention in question should present itself, the English Ministry would not hesitate to put upon it the most favorable interpretation for themselves. Still nothing had been done, thus far, to justify the calling in question of the good faith of Burgoyne.

Another question came to complicate the relations between Congress and the British General. The relation of debtor and creditor. The expense of the conquered army were very great; large sums of money were required to meet them. Wherever paper money went, it carried with it the contamination of its evil spirit. Congress required hat Burgoyne should pay in silver and gold, but that its own payments should be made in continental currency, which had already reached a ruinous depreciation. Congress had the power and used it with no scrupulous hand.

The rest of the story may be quickly told. We will not accuse Congress of having been altogether without a pretext, for pretexts are easily found. If Gordon be correct, the Convention troops had behaved very badly in their march through New England. But we must remember the excited state of the public mind, and the wild stories that are exaggerated and believed. It is evident that Congress feared that their captives might be employed against them, and after much discussion, it was resolved that Burgoyne's army, instead of being sent to England, should be sent to the interior of Virginia, to remain there, "till a distinct and explicit satisfaction of the Convention of Saratoga shall be properly notified by the Court of Great Britain."

The question, as has already been hinted, is purely a question of ethics. When suspicion takes the place of facts, men are easily led to accept the most groundless charges, but here the suspicion was not wholly unjustifiable. George the Third still looked upon the colonists as rebels, and was firmly resolved, if he should prove stronger than they, to visit the royal indignation upon them with all its terrors. Men who had fought at Culloden were still living, and the terrors of high treason execution were still fresh in their memories. The German mercenaries, who formed so important a part of the British army, had grown up full of reverence and devotion to their sovereign; never having known rights in their own intercourse with the world, their conceptions were bounded by duty; to hear and to obey, to look upon their sovereigns as irresponsible masters, and their officers as the representatives of those sovereigns, was the creed in which they had grown

up and were ready to die. Thus there was a natural antagonism between them and those whom they had come to bring back to their duty at the point of the bayonet. For them the word rebel was hateful, and the living rebel a monster. Were they bound to keep faith with monsters?

The hatred of the Loyalist for the Whig was equally bitter, and all were either Whigs or Loyalists. In this fertile soil political passions bore an abundant harvest. When Congress went home to take counsel with its constituents, it found in their prejudices a faithful mirror of its own. Can we wonder that it should be guilty of much questionable legislation.

It was under the influence of feelings like these that Congress declared that the Convention had been violated. The Florentine Secretary would have approved their decision; but the Christian statesman of the nineteenth century must reluctantly confess that their deliberate infraction of a solemn compact was unworthy of the representatives of an honorable people.

GEORGE W. GREENE

* See the Report of the Council of the American Antiquarian Society, October 22, 1877, by Charles Deane.

THE DIGHTON ROCK INSCRIPTION

AN OPINION OF A DANISH ARCHÆOLOGIST

After the publication of my "Observations on the Dighton Rock Inscription," in this Magazine (February, 1878), I sent special impressions of the article to Mr. J. J. A. Worsaae, Director of the Royal Museum of Northern Antiquities, at Copenhagen, and Vice-President of the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries. I received from him in reply a letter (dated November 1, 1878) which relates almost exclusively to the Dighton Rock question, and will be duly appreciated by those who are interested in that topic. Indeed, an expression of opinion coming from such weighty authority connot fail to command the highest consideration.

"CHARLES RAU, ESQ.,

Smithsonian Institution, Washington.

"I fully agree with your observations on the Dighton Rock inscription. But the statements of Dr. Farquharson are incorrect in the highest degree. As Vice-President of the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries, I am enabled to give you an official account of the whole proceeding concerning the intended removal of Dighton Rock.

"In the year 1861 Mr. Niels Arnzen (a Dane), citizen of Fall River, Massachusetts, presented a deed of transfer of Dighton Rock to the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries, as a token of his esteem for the Society, and for the editor of 'Antiquitates Americanæ,' Professor C. C. Rafn. This donation was thankfully accepted by the Society. Many members, however, myself among them, had not the slightest confidence in the deciphering of the figures upon the rock, and rejected the idea of their being in any way connected with the old Northmen. Later researches have fully convinced us that the figures are due to the Indians, and *not* to the Northmen.

"In December, 1876, and January, 1877, the above-mentioned Mr. Arnzen wrote to the Society that some Boston gentlemen had recently directed the attention of the people of Boston to the necessity as well as the propriety of the preservation of Dighton Rock, proposing at the same time the erection of some suitable and permanent memorial in honor of the Northmen, as the first European discoverers of the American continent. Mr. Arnzen suggested that the Society should

waive all rights to the Dighton Rock, thus enabling him to get Boston funds to protect it. The idea of the Boston Committee was to have the rock raised and conveyed to some public place in Boston.

"At a meeting of our Society of Northern Antiquaries, held January 30th, 1877, the leading Committee of the Society was authorized to answer:

"'That tne Society was ready to give up its rights to Dighton Rock, in order to promote its protection and eventual removal by the Boston Committee; that the Society in general, however, did not approve of monuments being removed from their original places without urgent necessity; that the Society, if the Boston Committee really insisted upon bringing the Dighton Rock in connection with a monument of the Northmen, regarded it as a duty to declare that the Dighton Rock figures, according to the ideas of all modern Northern Antiquaries, are not the work of the northern discoverers of America, but rather of the Indians; and, finally, that, as the first discovery of America by the Northmen was, nevertheless, fully established by the accounts of the Sagas, and of the German historian Adam of Bremen, the Society could not but feel gratified by the prospect that a monument was to be erected in Boston in honor of the northern discovery of the great American continent.'"

"To this resolution of the Society the Boston Committee returned the following answer:

"'J. J. A. Worsaae, Esq.,
Vice-President of the Royal Society of
Northern Antiquaries, Copenhagen.

"'A communication from the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries, dated February 22d, 1877, has been received by the Committee at Boston, appointed for the purpose of erecting a monument to the Scandinavian discoverers of America. The Committee desires to express warmly its satisfaction regarding the acceptance of its suggestion as to the surrender of Dighton Rock to our custody. We shall protect it, and see that it receives no injury, and, perhaps, shall have it placed in our new Art Museum; but our Society is chiefly interested in securing a monument to the Norsemen. It is hoped it may take the form of a statue, for we have no portrait of Leif or any of his successors.

"'We desire to erect a statue of a Northman landing in New England, clad in the characteristic shirt of mail and helmet, the legs bound

with thongs. One foot is planted on a rock, while the other leaves the small boat in which he had rowed from his ship. A grape-vine and New England flowers will be indicated; it will be unmistakably a Northman landing in New England, telling at once the whole story. We hope you will approve of our idea as suitable.

"'With sentiments of distinguished consideration,

(Signed) T. G. Appleton, Chairman.'"

"Here you have the facts, which are quite at your disposal. I should like to see them published as a continuation of your paper.

"With my best wishes, believe me always, dear sir,

Most sincerely yours,

J. J. A. Worsaae."

The letter being written in the English language, my task merely consisted in transcribing it.

CHARLES RAU

THE HOWARDS OF MARYLAND

To no Marylander would the allusion in the oft-quoted line, "not all the blood of all the Howards," seem inappropriate if applied to the family of John Eager Howard and his distinguished sons; and its members are fortunate in the transmission of a name as distinctive in this republican country, of honorable and high lineage, as is that of their supposed ancestry, the Norfolk-Howards in the kingdom of Great Britain. Although there are other families of Howards in the State, this one, through its historic, political and social prominence, is more particularly designated "The Howards of Maryland."

The most illustrious member of this well-known family was Colonel John Eager Howard, who rose to distinction in the Revolutionary war. The deaths of the father and grandfather of Colonel Howard appear to have left him to derive his knowledge of family traditions from his mother (who lived to a good age), there remaining little documentary evidence beyond bare records of bequests of property, deeds, marriages, births and deaths. He was himself reserved and uncommunicative. None of his children ever knew him to speak of the origin of his family, or of matters concerning it, to any one. His only surviving child, Sophia C. Read of Baltimore, describes very precisely, however, a painted and framed coat of arms, about two feet square, inscribed "Howard, Earl of Arundel," which hung over the desk in her father's private office at Belvidere. This painting passed into the possession of his son, Mr. James Howard, but unfortunately during his long illness, and consequent removal from the family estates of Cowpens and Cliffholme, this valuable and interesting relic was lost or mislaid. It is described as painted on copper, and had probably descended from that ancestor, "who" (to quote from a short family record found after his death in Colonel Howard's handwriting) "turned out, though very young, to support James at the time of Monmouth's rebellion, and preferred coming to this country rather than return to his father, who was displeased at his leaving home in the manner he did." The head of the Norfolk family at the date of Monmouth's invasion was attainted of treason and deprived of his dukedom; therefore only "Howard, Earl of Arundel." The dukedom was restored to William, his son and successor. Thus the inscription upon the painted coat-of-arms in Colonel Howard's possession curiously tallies with that fact, and appears to settle its age and

date. The same coat-of-arms is on the tombs of their colonial ancestors in the Howard burial ground at "the Forest." The Forest was a large tract of land in Baltimore county, recorded as granted by the Crown to Joshua Howard, the grandfather of Colonel Howard, in 1699. The family are no doubt content to possess an honorable American genealogy of five generations; but the traditional theory of descent from the Norfolk-Howards is based upon this use of the Arundel escutcheon by their colonial ancestors, and by a man so unsparing in contempt for pretence or false statement of any sort as Colonel John Eager Howard, who is described by one of his biographers as "scrupulously just," with a memory "painfully minute, and the most accurate repository of the history of his own time in this or any other country." The possibility of the theory is sustained by a recent declaration of Cardinal Howard and the present Duke of Norfolk, that a branch of their family was "known to be in America," referring to the Maryland Howards.

The military spirit, independence and resolution which inspired their ancestor at an immature age to take arms against Monmouth, and to emigrate to this country, has shown itself in each generation of his descendants, whenever war or other opportunity has given it play, though none have achieved lasting renown but the revolutionary hero, Colonel Howard.

Colonel John Eager Howard, was born June 4th, 1752, at "The Forest," in Baltimore county, Maryland. His father, Cornelius, was the third son of Joshua Howard, whose wife was Miss O'Carroll, whose father emigrated to America from Ireland. To this nationality may be attributed the name "Cornelius." Their two elder sons, Thomas and Francis, seem to have left no descendants. Joshua Howard bequeathed the bulk of his estate to his son Cornelius, who married Ruth Eager, heiress to John Eager, son of George Eager of Maryland. From her descended to her son, John Eager Howard, the estate of Belvidere, a tract of land adjoining the "Town" of Baltimore of three hundred acres, which later formed the beautiful park and grounds around the handsome mansion erected by its owner soon after the war of independence. Not a vestige of the park or mansion remains. They have gone down before the inevitable advance of the rapidly spreading city, a result to which Colonel Howard's munificent gifts of land for public purposes greatly contributed. Thus in his park was raised *the first* "Washington monument."

Bred to no profession, sympathy with the resistance of the Colonies decided John Eager Howard to that of arms. Bodies of militia, called

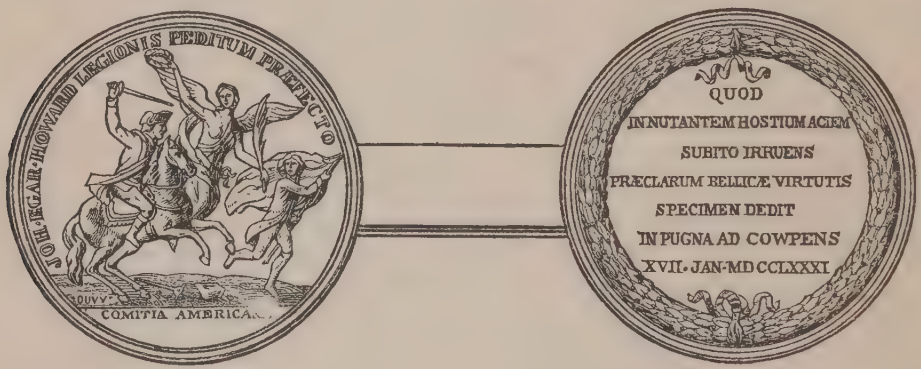
"Flying Camps," were formed in Maryland. Modestly declining a colonelcy, he accepted a captaincy in this corps June 25, 1776, and was present at the battle of White Plains in the autumn of the same year. When Congress in place of this system of defence required each State to furnish regular troops, Captain Howard was given a majority in one of the seven Maryland regiments. In this capacity he was engaged in the battles of Germantown and Monmouth in 1777, and in June, 1779, he was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel of the Fifth Regiment of Maryland Infantry, transferred to the Sixth, and then, after the battle of Hobbick's Hill, given command of the Second.

Colonel Howard's services in the war have been set forth in several memoirs. The earliest appeared in the "National Portrait Gallery;" the latest in Mr. Hanson's "Old Kent of Maryland," a recent publication of merit. Reference is therefore only made to those battles in which, under the command of Generals Greene, Gates and Morgan, in the South, he was conspicuous for conduct and gallantry. In these he rendered such efficient and eminent service that Greene, an exact discriminator of merit, declared him to have conferred great obligations on himself, and greater on the public. "He deserves," said Greene, "a statue of gold, no less than Roman or Grecian heroes." "At the battle of Cowpens Colonel Howard seized the critical moment, and turned the fortunes of the day," writes Lee, "and at all times and on all occasions was eminently useful."

Of intrepid, personal courage, he was distinguished for pushing his troops into close fighting with fixed bayonets, a weapon rarely crossed in battle even by veterans. This manner of fighting was first inaugurated by Colonel Howard during the battle of Cowpens. In the heat of the struggle an order for a flank movement was mistaken by Colonel Howard's men for an order to retreat, and they fell back. Upon this General Morgan rode up, exclaiming that "the day was lost!" "Look at that line," replied Howard; "men who can retreat in such order are not beaten." Morgan ordered him to take a position which he pointed out, and make a stand; but halting his men, and facing them about, Howard poured in a sudden fire upon the advancing enemy, and then, on his own responsibility, dashed on them with the bayonet. The result was a brilliant victory, while the method of the attack reversed the opinion, which even Washington had held, that American troops could not cope successfully with tried British veterans in the use of the bayonet. Afterwards the Maryland line was put to this service so continually as almost to destroy that brave corps. At Cowpens Howard

held at one time in his hands the swords of seven officers, surrendered to him personally; and saved the life of the British General O'Hara, who clung to his stirrup, claiming quarter. His gallantry was rewarded by Congress with a medal.[2] In the succeeding battle of Eutaw he was so seriously wounded as to impair his health later in life.

Five years after the close of the war Colonel Howard became Governor of Maryland for three terms, and gave his influence to the adoption of the Federal Constitution. In 1796 he first entered the Senate of the United States, having previously declined the appointment of Major-General by the State.



Washington offered him a seat in his Cabinet, and in several letters deplored his refusal to accept the post as a loss to himself and the public. After requesting the interposition of a friend, and finding all efforts vain, Washington finally wrote: "The reasons you have assigned for not doing so carry conviction along with them, and *must, however reluctantly, be submitted to.*" To persuade Colonel Howard against his own judgment or will, would have been difficult indeed; a characteristic equally developed in his descendants. But it was said of him that "such was his integrity, wisdom and justice, they gave his opinions an almost absolute sway." In 1798 he consented to accept from General Washington the rank of General, should the threatened war with France be declared, a calamity which was happily averted.

Colonel Howard married one of the beautiful daughters of Benjamin Chew of Clifden, Germantown, Chief Justice of Pennsylvania. These brilliant women were reigning Tory belles in Philadelphia during its occupation by the British. When the war closed Mrs. Chew attended the ball given to welcome General Washington to Philadel-

phia, and described to her daughter Margaret, who, from "loyalty," had refused to accompany her, a wounded officer, who stood aloof from the assemblage, Colonel Howard of Maryland, as "the only one who interested her." Miss Chew, curious to see this young hero, went to the next ball herself, and lost her heart. The result was their betrothal, and marriage soon after. Colonel Howard's first view of Clifden, the home of his bride, had been during the battle of Germantown, when "Chew's House," fortified by the British, welcomed the "Maryland Line" with a shower of balls.

Miss Chew was the lady for whom Captain André rode in the "Tourney" of "the Mischianza" Fête. After her marriage, when on one occasion she and her sisters were speaking in eloquent terms of André's attractions and accomplishments, her husband silenced them with the stern rebuke, that he was only "a damned spy!"

The union seems to have been happy beyond the ordinary lot of humanity. Mrs. Howard's correspondence presents the most natural pictures of enviable domestic harmony and love. She writes of her stern husband as her "Lord and slave;" her "good squire." Her eldest son, John (whose death she did not long survive), is especially her "beloved son;" the others, "dear urchins," or "the young flock." Her sisters (one of whom was married to the only son of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, and lived near her) are spoken of in every variety of affectionate expressions. These are the charming letters of a cultivated woman of lively wit, endowed with warm affections and superior wisdom; overflowing with sparkling happiness, and blessed with a perfect life. In one she describes what she calls "a grand jumble" at Belvidere, so often the scene of brilliant assemblies. Carriages now roll over the very site of the hospitable mansion, where then carriages were "moored in the slough" on their return to town after the ball.

Colonel Howard's reticence was so extreme that even at this distance of time it seems scarcely right to look behind the curtain of his domestic life, though it be but to reveal his virtues and worth. This account may fitly close with the remarks of The Baltimore Gazette, on the occasion of his death, October 12, 1827: "A fortune, which might have been deemed princely, was not used to increase the lustre of his station, or the weight of his authority. Amidst the frantic agitations of party, he, almost alone of his generation, won the universal confidence. The most inveterate popular prejudices seemed to yield to the affectionate conviction of his impregnable honesty, and that personal independence, which neither party zeal could warp from its

course, nor passion subvert, nor faction alarm: his fellow-citizens turned to him as to a fountain of undefiled patriotism. The example of such a citizen is a legacy to his country, of more worth than the precepts of an age."

The main building of the Belvidere mansion contained two small rooms, one on each side of the hall; three large drawing-rooms on the rear, the central an octagon, with windows opening upon a noble view of town and country, the Patapsco river and Chesapeake Bay. The stairway, imported from England, was partly of iron, the woodwork of mahogany. Its broad, shallow steps wound in a semicircle above the entrance, without apparent support, to a balcony above the drawing-room doors. It was built in the thick walls, which were substantial enough to have stood for centuries had time and not progress besieged them. To "Howard's Park" Baltimore's citizens resorted for parades, lover's walks, and even duels. In one of these encounters a gentleman was shot near the present site of Mount Vernon Place.

Colonel Howard's eldest brother, George, married, but left no descendants. His four other brothers died bachelors. Two of his sisters were married. Ruth to Charles Elder of Maryland; Violetta to Joseph, Lord West and Earl de la Warr, though he is written down very properly in the Howard family record as plain "Joseph West." From one of this gentleman's family the State of Delaware took its name.

Two of the bachelor sons, James and Cornelius, lived to see their elder brother, John Eager Howard, famous. James died a martyr to gout; but Cornelius lived, an eccentric recluse, at his home on his portion of "The Forest" to an advanced age, dying in 1844. Lawsuits were almost unknown in the county while he lived to arbitrate disputes. Among many anecdotes illustrating his high reputation for probity and truth, it is related of a jury, reproved by the Judge for a verdict contrary to the weight of evidence, that its foreman replied: "Well, yes, your honor! but if all Baltimore county swears one thing, and Mr. Cornelius Howard the other, no jury in this State will give a verdict against him." Singularly enough, though too young to take part in the struggle, he did not approve of the Revolution, and sturdily refused to make oath of allegiance to the United States, paying double taxes for his recusancy.

Colonel Howard had two daughters, Juliana and Sophia; and six sons, John Eager, George, Benjamin Chew, William, James and Charles. In the war of 1812 the four eldest took up arms in defence of Baltimore,

and were in the battle of North Point, which resulted favorably to the city. When the proposal was made to avert the destruction of Baltimore by capitulation, the old hero, who had organized its defence, said: "I have four sons in the field, and as much property at stake as any one, but sooner would I see my sons weltering in their blood, and my property reduced to ashes, than so far disgrace the country."

His daughter Juliana died in the second year of her marriage with John McHenry, a gentleman of large fortune, the son of Secretary McHenry of Washington's Cabinet (in whose honor Fort McHenry was named). Mr. McHenry did not long survive his wife. She left one son, James Howard McHenry, who married Miss Cary, a lady in whose veins flows the best blood of Virginia and Maryland. Mr. McHenry's fine estate of Sudbrook, near Baltimore, contains a part of "The Forest," inherited from his grandfather's grandfather, although the mansion is modern. The owner has assembled within it many curious pieces of antique furniture and rare objects of art.

Sophia, the second daughter of Colonel Howard, married Mr. William George Read, whose sister (described by a contemporary as a "Juno" in beauty) was married to her eldest brother John. They were the son and daughter of General Read of South Carolina. Mrs. Read has been many years a widow. Though now 79 years of age, she retains her vigor of mind and body, and has met the trials and bereavements of a long life with a brave fortitude worthy of her noble sire. Mr. Read was a distinguished scholar (graduating at the head of his class at Harvard University), as was also his only son, William George Read, Jr., lately deceased.

Of the sons of Colonel Howard, John Eager Howard died early, leaving one son, John Eager Howard, who distinguished himself in the Mexican war by conspicuous gallantry, being the first on the walls at the storming of Chepultepec. Major Howard bid fair to rival his grandfather as a soldier; but the war ended abruptly, and he returned home to die a lingering and unhappy death from softening of the brain. He never married.

George and James married daughters of General Charles Ridgely of Hampton, a fine entailed estate near Baltimore. Margaret Howard, daughter of James, was afterwards married to her cousin, a grandson of General Ridgely and heir to Hampton, where she now resides, a widow. Four of the sons of James Howard (three by his second marriage with Miss Ross) fought in the Confederate army; one was severely wounded.

George was elected Governor of Maryland. Howard County was named in his honor. His friend, the great Henry Clay, pronounced him to have as brilliant a mind as he ever encountered. His wit was of the readiest; his humor unflagging; his puns even, for their easy originality, were forgiven him. A friend read from a newspaper that a man had slipped from a housetop, and was killed. "Served him right," said the Governor, "for eavesdropping."

Governor Howard's eldest son died unmarried. His second son, Charles Ridgely Howard, was a man whose bravery had no parallel, being utterly reckless of results. He obtained of General Jackson, on his personal application, when only twelve years old, an appointment in the United States Navy, and so distinguished himself in the Florida war (where he was detailed under David Porter for land service) that he was made Brevet Captain, and given command of a sloop-of-war when only nineteen years of age. His turbulent spirit led him into many pranks, escapades and scrapes when on land, deprived of the vent of war duty or sea life. Among the anecdotes told of him is one of his successfully performing the difficult feat of driving sixteen horses, attached to a sleigh, up and down the crowded Broadway of New York; another of his dropping from a third-story window of Gadsby's Hotel, in Washington, upon the pavement below, without other result than the collecting of an astonished crowd to witness his walking away unhurt. Active as a squirrel and as fearless in climbing, he was once present in the Washington Navy Yard when a fellow midshipman was ordered up the flagstaff to unfurl the flag. His senior by four years, this midshipman had made himself offensive to young Howard by his overbearing, bullying nature. Daily encounters passed between them in which Howard was always mastered; the superior officers permitting no one to intefere, saying, "the plucky little rascal may as well learn the necessity of submitting to superior force." Now the youth saw his enemy in a position where strength and size would not avail against courage. Quick as thought he dashed up the tall flagstaff after him. Threatening to seize him and jump off the boy ordered him down; the bully obeyed, leaving his victor to unfurl the flag amid the shouts of the applauding spectators, and to gain ever afterward immunity from affront.

During his courtship of the young girl who became his wife he found that the noted Baltimore roughs permitted none of the gentlemen who visited her and her sister to pass their headquarters, "The New Market

Engine House," after nightfall. This he could not submit to, as did his more cautious companions. Regularly every evening he fought his way through, appearing before his fiancée with blacked eyes and bruised, swollen fists, till at last the "roughs" themselves, when Howard presented himself as usual singly to fight his way through the two or three dozen of them who opposed his passage, set up a shout of welcome, opened to right and left for him to pass through in trimuph, gaily bidding him "Good night! Captain!" which he returned with hearty good will.

Finally, for some infringement of the rules of the post at a West Point ball, he was court-martialed and dismissed from the Navy, though unjustly, as he was restored by President Tyler, with back pay and rank. Unfortunately he conceived the freak of visiting the President on a Levee-day in an equipage thought disrespectful, and the order for his reinstatement was revoked. Finding shore life insupportable, he obtained the command of a Pacific mail steamship, and died of yellow fever at Panama. His brother officers erected a monument to his memory in the beautiful graveyard in that port. He left four daughters and one son, James Morris Howard, who, by the law of primogeniture, would have been the only one of the family to receive the Cincinnati badge at the death of Major John Eager Howard, had not the great merits of his venerable grand-uncle, General B. C. Howard, and the desire to enlarge the Society, induced the Society to change that single aristocratic feature of their organization, to admit of its being given to any distinguished descendants of Revolutionary officers the Society should elect to the honor.

General Benjamin Chew Howard (son of Colonel Howard) was greatly beloved by his family and friends, and highly respected by the community. He was graduated from Princeton College in 1809, and took early part in political life. He represented Maryland in Congress from 1829 to 1833, and again from 1835 to 1839. As Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations he was author of the remarkably able report on the North Eastern Boundary Question, which has been frequently ascribed to Cushing and Winthrop. President Van Buren offered him the Mission to Russia, which he declined. In 1840 he was chosen State Senator. In 1848 he was thought the most available candidate for the Vice-Presidency on the Democratic ticket. He long held a position in the United States Senate, and afterwards in the United States Supreme Court. In 1860 he was one of the Washington Peace Commissioners

who sought to avoid the impending Civil War. He died in 1872 at the advanced age of eighty-one years, universally esteemed and regretted even by those who had not shared his opinions. A few words from the pen of a political adversary, testify to the general esteem for his character: "The name of Howard has always been especially dear to the people of Maryland, and perhaps more thoroughly identified with its honor and chivalry than any other. They have always been leaders in the councils of the nation as well as on its battle-fields, and have blended at the same time the highest social amenities and culture with strong character and intellectual endowments." He accepted a nomination for Governor, which he had before declined, from the party adverse to the authorities at the breaking out of the civil war, knowing that he ran great risk of arrest, and had no chance of being elected. His widow retains possession of his country-seat, "Roslyn" (adjoining "Sudbrook"), which is also part of "The Forest" still in the family since 1699. Mrs. Benjamin Chew Howard was Miss Gilmor of Baltimore, and is a lady of superior intellect. A young grandson represents General Howard's name.

William Howard married Rebecca Key, niece to Francis Key. He alone of Colonel Howard's sons developed a taste for science, travel and art. He is said to have been one of the earliest to reach the summit of Mount Blanc. Several buildings in the city of Baltimore are evidences of his taste. His only son, William Key Howard, entered the Confederate army.

Charles, youngest son of Colonel Howard, was as distinguished for courage and integrity as his brothers. For denying the right of the military to deprive the city and State officials of their authority, and for refusing to resign their positions as such, when the late war broke out, he and his eldest son, Frank Key Howard, were imprisoned at Forts Lafayette and Warren, in company with S. Teackle Wallis and other distinguished Baltimoreans. He was at one time Judge of the Orphans' Court. His five younger sons served in the Confederate army with distinction. James Howard, as Colonel, commanded two battalions in defense of Richmond, and Captain McHenry Howard held several positions of high trust and responsibility; another, a Surgeon, Dr. Edward Lloyd Howard, was also conspicuous for self-devotion on the Yellow Fever Commission last summer. Mrs. Charles Howard was a daughter of Francis Scott Key, author of the Star Spangled Banner, composed while a prisoner on a British

man-of-war, moored opposite Fort McHenry, during the battle of North Point. In conclusion, it may be said that few names in our land bear a more honorable record than that of "The Howards of Maryland."

ELIZABETH READ

[1] Cornelius Howard died June 14, 1777, and is buried in the family burying ground, at the "Old Place," Baltimore County. The escutcheon given at the foot of this article is from his tomb.

[2] This medal, voted by Congress March 9, 1781, was of silver, and is thus described by Mr. Loubat in his recent superb work, The Medallic History of the United States of America:

"JON (*Johannis*) EGER (*sic*) HOWARD LEGIONIS PEDITUM PRAEFECTO COMITIA AMERICANA (*The American Congress to John Eager Howard, Commander of a regiment of infantry*). Lieutenant-Colonel Howard on horseback is in pursuit of a foot-soldier of the enemy, who is carrying away a standard. A winged Victory hovers over him, holding in her right hand a crown of laurel, and in her left a palm branch. DUVIV) Duvivier).

Within a crown of laurel: QUOD IN NUTANTEM HOSTIUM ACTEM SUBITO IRRUENS PRAECLARUM BELLICAE VIRTUTIS SPECIMEN DEDIT IN PUGNA AD COWPENS XVII. JAN. (*Januarii*) MDCCLXXXI. (*Because by rushing suddenly on the wavering lines of the enemy, he gave a brilliant example of martial courage at the battle of the Cowpens, January* 17, 1781."

THE PAPERS OF FATHER BRUYAS

JESUIT MISSIONARY TO CANADA

1689–90

Communicated by B. Fernow, late Keeper of the Archives of the State of New York

PRELIMINARY NOTE.—The news of the bloodless revolution in England, which placed William of Orange upon the throne of England, found the province of New York in charge of Lieutenant-Governor Nicholson; Sir Edmond Andros, then just appointed Captain-General of New England and New York, being absent in Boston. They came first as an unauthenticated rumor, but created, nevertheless, great sensation, especially among the Dutch inhabitants, who perhaps saw in this event a chance of becoming again a part of the United Netherlands. Other rumors, offsprings of Anti-Stuartism and Anti-Popery, wrought the minds of the population up to fever heat, and made it comparatively easy for Jacob Leisler, a prosperous merchant and senior captain of the militia, to get control of the government of the province.

Leisler, who had come to New York as a soldier of the West-India Company in 1660, was a coarse, vulgar man, whose head was quickly turned by the honors which subservient creatures heaped upon him, and he soon began to prosecute all who opposed him or whom he suspected, not even sparing members of his family. Thus he found also an excuse to proceed against Robert Livingston, a prominent Albanian, who being a Scotchman and a friend of the Jesuit missionaries among the Mohawks and Oneidas, was easily accused of leaning towards the cause of the dethroned Stuart. Under the plea that he had not accounted for the revenues of the King in Albany during twelve months, his house was searched for the accounts. Livingston, however, had fled and taken all his papers with him, so that the Commissaries found only a chest containing papers, etc., of the Jesuit Vaillant. They got several people to swear to Livingston having made use of language derogatory to King William, and in sending these affidavits to Leisler, they write, "We send your Honor herewith six affidavits against the aforesaid Livingston regarding his Majesty, and with them goes a package of papers, which are found in an old chest with some jewels, formerly the property of the Jesuit Vaillant, from Canada. We have inventoried for his Majesty's behalf."

François Vaillant de Gueslis had joined the Society of Jesus at Quebec, in 1675, and four years later he took Pere Bruyas' place as missionary at Tionnontoquen (Fort Hunter). According to a letter from the Marquis de Denonville, Governor of Canada, to Governor Dongan (New York Col. Doc. Vol. III, p. 518), Vaillant remained among the Mohawks until about 1683, and in 1688 was sent by Denonville to Albany to treat with Governor Dongan. During this visit to Albany he probably left at Livingston's house the chest mentioned in the letters from the Commissaries, which originally seems to have been the property of Père Bruyas, his predecessor at Fort Hunter. The papers criticised and enumerated in the

following translation are, without doubt, the writings of Père Bruyas, who was the best philologist of the Mohawk language, and compiled many works in that tongue and on its construction. Hennepin journeyed from Fort Frontenac to the Mohawk valley to examine his Dictionary, and Cotton Mather had a copy of his Catechism. The dictionary and catechism are still extant (N. Y. Col. Doc. III, p. 719, note).

The criticisms given herewith are dated "Boston, 29th April, 1690." The correspondence of Leisler with the Governor of Boston fails to show that the papers were sent there, and it remains an open question how the papers came there, what became of them afterwards, and who wrote the "Inventory?"

B. FERNOW.

INVENTORY OF CERTAIN PAPERS FOUND IN A PRIVATE HOUSE (LIVINGSTON'S) NEAR ALBANY DURING THE LATE TROUBLES.[1]

As not everybody understands French I am very glad that these papers have been brought to me for examination, for the majority is in that language; I hope that I shall satisfy those who have had the curiosity to know what they contained. They are the writings of a Jesuit missionary for the conversion of the Iroquois; his name is Father Bruyas,[2] as is shown by several directions of letters, addressed to him and used by him to cover his manuscripts. He mentioned, also, several other Fathers of the Society. We see, therefore, that the good Fathers are to be found everywhere, and that if they have had no hand in what has taken place at Albany lately, it is any way certain that they have been in that neighborhood a long time. However, I leave it to the reader to think of it what he pleases, and to make such remarks, in regard to the details which I shall give, as he thinks fit; after that I ask permission to make remarks of my own.

After having examined all these papers, I have found all the following pieces:

1. The form of the consecration of the Host with the sacramental words surmounted by a cross. This is the only printed thing found among the papers.

There is further a writing-book marked with a tree. It is a catechism, in the Mahingan tongue and in Latin, with Popish prayers, as the Pater, Ave Maria, Credo, etc. The whole directed to Father Bruyas at Agnié. Then six writing-books, which the writer has himself marked with numbers, and which contain a little Iroquois dictionary in alphabetical order. They are covered by several letters written to the Rev. Father Bruyas.

There are seven other writing books, and several loose leaves of a grammar to learn the Iroquois language, the Huron, Onneista, etc. The writer adds remarks to teach these languages, the tenses, conjugations, pronounciations, etc. There is also a table of a grammar (une table de grammaire)on a sheet of paper, containing certain paradigms of Huron verbs.

Also, an invoice directed to Rev. Father Thierry Bechefer, Jesuit at Quebec, where, in one list, hosties of all sizes, small crucifixes are marked down together with paper bags, raisins, prunes,

tobacco and rosaries, all to be used in making treaties with the Indians.

There are further, two writing-books with discourses in Iroquois, interlined with Latin sentences, which latter proved the one to be an instruction of the savage, who was to be converted, and the other a treatise on the manner of making treaties with them by giving them presents.

There is another cahier, containing 100 cases of conscience with their answers in Latin, for the Iroquois missionary, and carried into practice after having been confirmed by the Rev. Fathers, the Jesuites of Quebec. Finally, there is a Catechism written in two books in the language of the Oneidas and Latin, which has 24 chapters.

This is the inventory of all the papers which have been handed to me. My remarks will be 1st, on the letters; 2d, who are the Jesuit Fathers mentioned in these writings; 3d, on the remarkable doctrines which they teach the Iroquois. After having examined these points, I believe to have acquitted myself of the task imposed upon me.

I. Father Bruyas used several letters as covers for his manuscript writing-books and the Indian dictionary. I believe he did so to preserve them with so much more care and to prevent their loss, which would indeed have been great. A letter written by the Jesuit Stechon (Hechon?), of Quebec, covers the first cahier, and informs P. Bruyas concerning two of his Iroquois women, who had been left as hostages at Quebec, and whom P. Bruyas had recommended to him; he says that both had died, one after *having received the last ointment;* but in regard to the other, he gives a strange detail of her death, saying that she had *died from small-pox, which had so taken hold of her that nobody could remain in her chamber, for she emitted a fearful stench.* He then sends P. Bruyas a *handsome necklace, not to dry the tears of their parents* (according to heathenish custom), *but to assure them that they had died as Christians, and to admonish them to imitate their daughters by embracing their faith, so that they might see them again in heaven;* he desires, also, that P. Bruyas *should make the two deceased girls speak to their parents, and ask them to believe, that they might share in their happiness.*

Are these not, indeed, wonderful examples to follow, and do you not believe that these persons are in Heaven; look especially at the manner in which the second died. And yet he wishes to make the parents believe that their dead daughters admonish them to embrace the faith. Who does not see that the last spark of piety, even of Christianity, must be extinguished to make use of such means for the conversion of the heathens. The remainder of the letter concerns propositions formerly made to the French of Canada, which are of no importance here.

The second letter, which I found covering the second cahier, is written from Lyons, and contains only the badly expressed compliments of a young Jesuit, Louis Montilesi, who tells of a murder committed near Geneva, the victim of which was a Jesuit, invested with the benefits of a secular priest. According to their manner, they did not fail to accuse the Huguenots, while it looks

much more as if their Popish parishioners had done it, who hated them mortally and desired to shake off the yoke of their tyranny.

The third letter covers the fourth cahier, and is written by P. Bruyas himself. It contains only private family-matters, with which we have nothing to do here. The fifth cahier is covered by a letter from P. Jean Etienne Grolét, a Jesuite, who invites him to come to France and induce several Rev. Fathers to come to Canada. It adds many compliments and flatteries.

Around the sixth cahier I found a letter from a nun in the Convent of the Hospitalers, at Quebec, who offers her services to the Rev. P. Bruyas, and sends him an image of the *great St. Francois Xavier, his patron.* She says that she *will also send him lancets, if he needs them*, etc. These good ladies are full of charity, and their name suits them exactly. This one is called Catherine Marie de Ste. Agn[——]

There is another letter, directed to the same P. Bruyas, which covers the Oneida grammar. It is also written by a nun of the Ursulines, of Quebec, and is very polite, for I see, that in offering her services to P. Bruyas, she makes no restrictions whatever; after having assured him that their entire little community was at his service, as well as she herself, she adds, that if his Reverence *thinks them capable to serve him, in whatever service it may be*, they are ready to do it with plaisir, etc. Nothing could be said against this kind of offers, if it was not well known, that the Ursulines of Canada recruite themselves mostly from those good penitents who go to be Magdalens in the convents, after having enjoyed all the pleasures of the world.

I must not forget to mention here the Latin manuscript, which covers the 3d cahier of the Indian dictionary. It is a declaration demanded by Père Millet, General of the Jesuits in New France, of P. Bruyas to make him Prefect of the Order. It contains five articles; in the first he promises never to do anything to change one way or the other the rules regarding the vow of poverty, which he has made, unless the exigency of the case might require him to relax a little. He protests in the second that he will never have any direct or indirect pretentions to any prelacy or dignity outside of the Society. In the third he promises never to consent to being elected, unless compelled by him, who is authorized to command him, under the penalty of a mortal sin. If he knows any body, who has such pretentions, he promises, in article four, to inform the Society of it; and in the last article he promises, that if he should happen to be promoted to any dignity or prelacy, he will always recognize the General of the Society as his superior, and never refuse to obey his advice, or that of any one whom he may appoint in his place, nor take exceptions to them, if he judges them to be better than those which he may have received from the Holy Ghost (ceux qu'il aura dans l' Esprit); the whole according to the institutions of the Order.

Do you not admire the Jesuitical spirit expressed here? Look how he advances gradually. At first he will not violate the vow of poverty, that is be secularized, then he will not aspire

to any prelacy, next he will not accept, if elected, unless ordered to do so by his Provincial or his confessor. Finally, if he should accept it, he promises always to obey willingly the advice of the General of the Society, if it suits him. Look upon the turns which these people make, and see whether you will find the least sign of sincerity. He promises and does not promise, he protests that he will never aspire to be a prelate, and then he says, in case he should be, he will always recognize the authority of his Superior. It seems as if this kind of declaration was made expressly to inform the world that they can be admitted to the prelacy and to ecclesiastic dignities.

II. It is proper that I should now inform you of the names of the Jesuits mentioned in these writings.

Father Bruyas is one of the most distinguished members; he is Père Proféz, Chief of Missions, a great converter of the Iroquois, Hurons, Oneidas, etc.; so that another Jesuit dares to speak of his endeavors as "Apostolic labors." Judge by the story of the two Iroquois girls, whether he does not impart great honor to the Apostles of Jesus Christ.

The Reverend P. Frémin[8] is a celebrated casuist, so are P. Pierron, † † missionary among the Mohawks during Governors Nicolls' and Lovelace's time. P. Milet († † †) Pierre Milet arrived in Canada in 1667, missionary among the Onondagas, who called him "The looker up to Heaven." Sent to the Oneida in 1671, where he remained until 1684; Chaplain in Forts Frontenac and Niagara until 1689; Indian prisoner until 1694 (See Charlevoix, who knew him personally), etc., who are the principal authors of the answers given to the 100 cas de conscience, of which I spoke before, and shall speak still more hereafter.

Father Carheil († † † †) Etienne de Carheil arrived in Canada in 1667, went to Onondaga in 1668, then to Cayuga; left here on account of sickness in 1671, and returned only to be compelled, by the obduracy of the tribe, to leave again soon after. In Detroit in 1687 or 1688, in Michilimakinac in 1690, where he excited the admiration and caused the conversion of the great Huron chief Kondiaront, "the Rat." He spent 60 years in missionary labors, but without great success, and died at Quebec in 1726; suffered from a disease which could not be cured in Canada, you may guess what it was, and it was therefore necessary that he should go to France to be properly treated, with his companion, the Jesuit Beaulieu, († †) who suffered from the same disease. He, too, was a good casuist, and of the right stamp.

The Rev. P. Jérome L'Allemant, who wished with such fervor to see the *house of the Jesuits at Quebec completed, that he only waited for that to die.*

P. Lamberville († Probably Jean de Lamberville, who came to Canada in 1668, and was missionary among the Onondagas in 1671, where he founded the Church of St. John the Baptist. He was much beloved by his Indians, so that even the snare, into which he fell and which gave a number of Iroquois into the hands of their enemies, could not abate their admiration for him, although he had to leave them.

In 1691 they wanted him back, but he was in France, and seems not to have returned. He had a brother, Jacques, also of the Society Jesu, who labored among the Mohawks and Onondagas from 1673 to 1686, and then among the western Iroquois until 1709) a great casuist.

P. Vaillant. († † François Vaillant de Gueslis entered the Order in Quebec in 1675, and replaced P. Bruyas at Fort Hunter in 1679. Among the Mohawks in 1683, Ambassador to Governor Dongan, of New York, for the French Government in 1688, and frequently employed in diplomatic missions to the Indians.) These two have both been missionaries at Agnié.

The incomparable Father Boisseaud was killed performing the functions of a secular curate near Geneva.

Rev. P. Boniface gave his consent to the solution of the 100 conscience-cases, and declared that he was of the same way of thinking as the others, notwithstanding he was absent when they were examined.

Father Bechefer († Thierry Bechefer, missionary among the Mohawks and Oneidas in 1670, Superior in 1680. See La Hontan's Voyages), to whom the invoice for Agnié is directed, seems to me to be the least dishonest man of them all; he answered, when asked for his advice on the cases of conscience, that *he was not sufficiently informed about the superstitions of the Indians, to give an opinion.*

III. It remains only to consider the doctrine which they teach the Iroquois, the Hurons and other savage tribes, whom they want to convert. I find it in two places. First, in the Catechism, written in the Oneida language on one side, and in Latin on the other. Several superstitions may be found in this writing, but my design is not to examine here the errors, which they continually teach the Europeans, but only certain doctrines, which are new and utterly unknown to the Christian world.

Chapters 14 and 15 of this Catechism are full of these strange and wonderful ideas. I consider it well to translate the former word for word.

Chap. 14. Of the Paradise.

The Indian Proselyte asks:

Q. How is the country in Paradise, is it fine?

The Father Jesuit answers:

A. It is very beautiful, there is no lack of every kind of eatables, of all that is necessary to clothe yourself, you are happy in every respect; if somebody says, I would like to be dressed in such a dress, there is the dress before you in an instant; if he desires to eat anything, Jesus Christ brings it immediately.

Q. Do people work in Heaven?

A. They do nothing whatever, they do not sow nor do they cultivate the fields, for they always find the wheat ripe and plenty of pumpkins and Indian beans, etc.

Q. Are the trees the same as here?

A. No; for the trees in Paradise are extremely beautiful, they are always in bloom, their leaves always green and they do not fall, the grass never dies.

Q. Is the sun the same as here, does it rain, does the wind blow, does it thunder?

A. No; it is always fine weather and the sky is never cloudy.

Q. Have they fruits in Heaven?

A. That is not impossible.

Q. How are the fruits made?

A. They are fine fruits, each tree is so loaded with them that, although people may gather them every day, there is never an end of it, for as soon as you have eaten one another grows in its place.

Q. Is it cold in Heaven?

A. There is no winter, but an eternal summer.

Q. Are there many inhabitants in Heaven?

A. Yes, a very great number.

Q. Do they know each other?

A. They know each other and are brothers and sisters, they greet each other, and never refuse or deny anything.

Q. Are the inhabitants of Heaven handsome?

A. They are very beautiful; for people who when dying were misformed, are straightened; there are no blind, no deaf, no hunchback people; for they are all made new in Heaven.

Q. Then there is no sickness in Heaven?

A. No; people live there very quietly; there are no diseases, no famine, no war and no death.

Q. Is it not rather tiresome in Heaven?

A. No; for 100 years are like a day; people have a great pleasure to look at each other.

This is the doctrine which the Jesuits teach the heathens whom they desire to convert; is it possible to give a more carnal idea of Heaven? Mahomet even spoke not with more sensuality of the happiness which he promises to his followers for their future life. For you will first see that they teach these poor Iroquois that there is a country in Heaven inhabited like ours, they promise everything which helps to make them happy here on earth; no sickness, no winter, but fine dresses to decorate themselves, plenty to eat, and as they like pumpkins and beans, they also promise that they shall grow there without planting; they will find there all kinds of fruits, which they like, in great quantities; but fearing that the Indians should believe that they might exhaust this abundance by their voracity, they teach that as soon as one fruit is eaten another one grows in its place; the prayer before meals taught the Indians is in accordance with these notions: they make them say "*in Heaven we shall have a continued feasting*," and as climax of their happiness, no ennui is found in Heaven.

That is a doctrine well worthy of all the men who boast of having the key of all the sciences; and yet it is embodied in a *Catechism*, that is in the marrow and body of the Religion. This doctrine is laid down among the most important points of Christianism, among the mysteries of the *Unity of God*, of the *nature of Angels*, of the *Incarnation of Jesus Christ*, of his *Martyrdom* and *Resurrection*; it forms a whole with what there is most important in the Divine will, with the *explanation of moral laws*, the *administration of the Sacrament*, etc. It would, indeed, be just as well, if these Indians were still heathens

instead of being Christians of this kind; they draw them out of one abyss to précipitate them into another; from Paganism they transfer them into Mahometism; it is easy to make conquests at such a price; it is only necessary to consult the inclinations of a people and then to preach a happiness conform to their desires; you will see that not one will be proof against such allurements. I leave it to the good Fathers, who boastingly call themselves the *Companions of Jesus Christ*, to consider whether Jesus and his Apostles converted people by such means.

The picture which they give of Hell, in Chap. 15, is not less pleasing. They teach that it is a bad country, situated in the middle of a fiery gulf in the centre of the earth, inhabited by demons and the bodies of the damned, which create a fearful stench. Then they say, the people there are always hungry, and have only *hot ashes*, *snakes* and *toads* to eat, their only drink is *molten lead*; and at the end of the chapter it is stated that the damned do not die, for even though they *devour each other every day*, *God makes them revive immediately, like a plant, which, torn out to-day, sprouts again a few days after*; *therefore*, they say, *the damned are so sad, because they know they will never die.*

Is there anything more ridiculous than these ideas? Do they not sound as if one of the Fathers of the Society had lately paid a visit down there to make a report of what is going on in Hell, and inform us of his new discoveries; or, at least, as if they had some mysterious connection with the evil spirits, who communicate to them the details of Hell with such minuteness, that they can determine the situation, the victuals, the drinks, etc., thereby?

I pass over a ridiculous explanation of *God's commandments* in this Catechism, which says it is not sinful to *play*, *dance*, *go hunting*, etc., *on Sunday*; nor will I speak of other sections, where they make Jesus Christ say things which he never has said. It is better to go over to the examination of the *conscience-cases*, where I find the fine orthodox sentiments which these good Fathers teach the Iroquois.

Nobody need say that these *cas de conscience* have been decided by individual members of the Society; it was done by several missionaries, by a body of the most eminent Jesuits in America, by theologians, Peres, Profézs, etc. These cases were proposed, and decided to serve as rules for the Iroquois missionaries, and were confirmed by the Jesuit Fathers of Quebec, as their title proves.

I shall not examine them all, for they number one hundred, of which the greater part concern the customs of these heathens, and tend to merge their idolatrous cult into the Christian religion, and pass, therefore, over such as regards the *festivals* of the Iroquois, their *dreams* and *prophesies*, their *marriages*, their *offerings to the sun* and even to the *devil*, their *self-laudations*, *magic characters*, etc. I shall speak only of two, which are very remarkable.

One is the 89th. It is asked whether a Christian is *obliged to give a prostitute her promised reward?* The Rev. P. P. Milet and Lamberville say that a man is obliged to do it *ex justitiâ* (i. e. that it is just and equitable to do it). But P.

P. Frémin and Bruyas say that *even though a man ought to do it ex justitiâ, yet there is no faith among the barbarians* (he speaks of Indian women), *and, therefore, it seems as if he was not obliged to keep his promise in such transactions*, and P. Pierron says absolutely *that a man is as little obliged to do it as to give a reward to a magician for having made a conjuration.*

I cannot help calling these villainous cases of conscience, and strange instruction for neophytes; these questions are more fitted to be examined in a brothel than in religious Christian teachings. I would not have thought of speaking of it here if it had not been my object to show to those who do not know them, what kind of people these Jesuits are. We see, hereby, and by what I have said above, how far their vows of chastity, so rigid in theory, are relaxed in practice.

In the other case, No. 90, this question is asked: *Is an Indian, who has robbed a Dutchman, obliged to make restitution of his plunder.* Rev. P. P. Pierron, Bruyas and Frémin say *that the Indian has no such obligation whatever, if the Dutchman, whom he has robbed, is the one with whom he leaves his goods, and if he deals with him, for he will soon repair his losses, as we learn it from themselves.* But P. Pierron goes still farther, for he is of opinion *that although the Indian thief has no dealings with the Dutch, he has no obligation to return the stolen goods, as long as the plundered Dutchman trades with other Indians.*

I would almost prefer living in Sparta, where it was permitted to steal, as long as it was done cleverly, and then it was not considered a crime. For this is about the same doctrine which the good Fathers teach their new converts. But I do not understand how they dare decide such a case of conscience, after the trick which Jean d'Alba, one of their servants, played them in Paris. Mons. Pascal (a man enjoying great consideration from the Papists as well as the Protestants of France) tells the story in his *Lettres Provinciales*, under the name of *Louis de Montalte.* As far as I can remember it, it is as follows: This Jean d'Alba, a rather faithless servant, took it into his head one day to steal his master's silver dishes, perhaps because he thought that such dishes were not proper for men who had made the vow of poverty, however that may be, he was arrested, convicted, and placed into the clutches of the law. He found himself thoroughly embarrassed, poor devil, but luckily, a happy thought struck him, for during the examination for the proceedings in court, he said it was true, he had robbed his masters, the Reverend Fathers of the Society Jesu, but he had not committed any sin thereby, he knew very well that, even though a servant had agreed with his master for such and such a sum, yet, if he saw that his work was worth more than the agreed price, he could rob him until he had reached the value of his labor, and therefore, as he had earned much more than they gave him, he wanted to pay himself by his own hands. He stated he had learned this doctrine from their books, and quoted one written by one of their learned men (I believe it was Baugençais), which was brought into the Parliament, ordered to be torn to pieces

and burnt by the hangman, while the Jesuits were forbidden ever to teach such doctrines again. Jean d'Alba was released and told to steal no more.

The Canadian Jesuits in the neighborhood of Albany ought to be afraid lest the Indians may apply to their teachers the doctrines which they are taught to practice on the Dutch, for all the world knows that the Jesuits' commerce in peltries with the Indians during one year is as extensive as that of all the Dutch in New York, Albany and Pennsylvania during ten years.

May God soon deliver the Christian world from these grasshopers, and let a strong east wind come to make them disappear. Amen.

Boston, the 29 of April, 1690.

[1] The French-Indian war of 1689 and 1690.

[2] Missionary among the Indians from 1667 to 1679. Afterwards Superior of the Order in Canada until 1700. He was the best philologist of the Mohawk language, and compiled many works on that tongue.

[3] Jacques Frémin is said to have arrived in Canada in 1655. He went with Dablon, another Jesuit Father, to Onondaga, where he remained until 1658. After various other labors in Canada he was sent as missionary among the Mohawks in 1667; labored among the Senecas in 1668, and left them in 1671, to take again charge of the Indians at Laprairie. After a visit to France in 1679, he died in Quebec in 1791.

NOTES

GALLOWAY'S PLAN.—It has never been understood how this plan of accommodation with England was defeated in the Continental Congress of 1774. Lieutenant-Governor Colden, of New York, who had excellent means of knowing, wrote to Lord Dartmouth on December 7, 1774, "The Delegates from Virginia were the most violent of any—those of Maryland and some of the Carolinians were little less so—these Southern Gentlemen exceeded even the New England Delegates; they, together, made a majority that the others could have very little effect on." (N. Y. Colonial Documents, Vol. VIII, p. 513.) This is not very clear, and Colden did not want to be perfectly clear; but it is possible to infer considerable from it.

We must first remember that there were twelve colonies at the Congress, and Rhode Island's vote was lost. (See Ward's Diary, Magazine of American History, Vol. I, p. 442.) Now the expression "*some of the Carolinians*" naturally means a minority. Besides (although too long for a note) there is sufficient testimony of the conservatism of all the Carolinians except Gadsden, of South Carolina, and Caswell, of North Carolina.

These deductions reduce Colden's list of patriotic colonies to Virginia, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Connecticut. There must have been one more to constitute a majority. There is no apparent reason why Colden should have omitted improperly Pennsylvania, New Jersey or Delaware; but it was Colden's habit to diminish the disloyalty of New York to recommend himself to the King. Moreover, New York was the only colony that had nine Delegates in this Congress, and Galloway, in his examination in the House of Commons, said there were colonies where five Delegates voted down four others who were in opposition to the measures caried. The four

New Yorkers so voted down are readily determined—Duane and Jay, from John Adams' Diary, and Low and Alsop, from their well known political views. The other five New Yorkers were men of superior patriotism.

When Galloway's Plan was introduced on September 28th, there is reason to believe that Philip Livingston voted for it, and thus put New York temporarily on the unpatriotic side. Galloway's final discomfiture was on October 22d, when his plan was cut out of the minutes by a vote of six colonies to five.

In Galloway's cross-examination, in the House of Commons, June 18, 1779, there is the following testimony: "He remembered perfectly well that of the members of one colony, consisting of nine, there were five for the Confederation and four against it." By *Confederation* he apparently means the Articles of Association.

Thus the position of New York on the Tory or Patriotic side depended on the voice of a single Delegate. The last comer from New York was Simon Boerum, of Kings county. He is said by Galloway to have been declared *unanimously* elected at a meeting composed of one man and himself. If this story is true, the one man who voted for him was probably his nephew, William Boerum, who lived with him at Brooklyn Ferry.

As the great events of history sometimes depend on trifles, the American Revolution may have resulted from that vote of William Boerum, though, as Horatio said, "'Twere to consider too curiously, to consider so." According to his gravestone, in Cedar Dell, Greenwood, he died August 25, 1785, aged thirty-nine years and nine months.

From 1777 to 1783 he sat in the New York Assembly as a representative of Kings county *in partibus infidelium*.

F. BURDGE.

THE NEWARK COACH, 1830.—Had the Charioteer of the Sun thundered through our streets with his fiery steeds yesterday, he would scarcely have attracted more attention than did an elegant coach and six from Newark, drawn by six coal-black coursers, and containing thirty-two passengers. The seats of the vehicle, within and without, being calculated for the accommodation of that number. The coach is a highly finished and beautiful structure, and is pronounced by good judges equal to any public coach on the English roads. It has a double body, and sits on eight superior cradle springs. It is lined and cushioned with purple morocco, except the ceiling and a narrow drapery, fringed and festooned all round, of rich yellow silk. The body is painted light green, with handsomely ornamented pannels. Plated mouldings extend over its whole length, with numerous other plated ornaments. Instead of curtains it has four glass windows, and four mahogany Venetian blinds. The driver showed himself a master of his craft. The coach was built by Messrs. Carter, Mitchell & Co., of Newark, N. J., who have recently established themselves in the business, and deserve great credit for this specimen of their workmanship. It is intended to run regularly, as a daily stage between Newark and New York.—*Commercial Advertiser*, *Jan.* 21, 1830. W. K.

ANOTHER FISH STORY.—*Hampton, in New Hampshire, June* 24, 1756. Last Tuesday, just at Sunset, two or three Young Men were coming up from Shaw's Island across the Marsh, and hearing a ruffling in a little Salt Pond, and upon looking in, spied a vast Number of fine large Mackrel swimming about; they immediately waded in, and they were so thick that they threw Numbers out with their Hands. One of the Men ran to the nearest House, got a Pigeon-Net, and drew out 400 presently. The next Day, in that and another Salt Pond, they catched upwards of 1,000 fine large Mackrel. It is supposed they might be drove in by some large Fish when the Tides were high last Week, and were now catched in these little Ponds, from which they could not escape after the Tides left them. It causes much Speculation, for there never was a Mackrel known here about, nor are they yet in our Sea.

PETERSFIELD.

THE FIRST BOSTON FOUNDLING.—*Monday Nov.* 9 [1685]. Flight of snow. This day, about 6 or 7 at night, a Male Infant pin'd up in a sorry Cloth, is laid upon the Bulk of Shaw, the Tabacco-Man. Great Search made tonight and next day to find the mother. So far as I can hear this is the first Child that ever was in such a manner exposed in Boston.—*Sewall's Diary.* MASSACHUSETTS.

DUN FISH AND CUSK.—The English are and have always been great lovers of fish. The ambassador's bag, for a long period before railroads and steamboats enabled individuals to compete with the royal mail, always carried herring of the first run, from the Hague to London, as a diplomatic courtesy. The famous varieties of New England cod were luxuries equally prized. From the time that the victors of Louisburg parted, it was the annual habit of Sir William Pepperrell to send a quintal of dun-fish and another of cusk to his companion in the siege, Sir Peter Warren, in England. PENOBSCOT.

AMERICAN NEWSPAPERS IN 1789.—According to an estimate lately made by a gentleman of this city, chiefly from actual accounts received from the several printers, it appears that the number of newspapers printed in the United States, weekly, is 76,438; annually, 3,974,776, which, at 4 cents each, amounts to 158,991 dollars and 4 cents. —*Gazette of the United States, Oct.* 14, 1789. ANTIQUARY.

QUERIES

"INWOOD-ON-HUDSON," VS. "TUBBY HOOK."—The latter was the old name of this locality, situated at the northwest extremity of Manhattan Island, or by river side, one mile south of Spuyten Duyvel creek. Its present romantic and very appropriate name was given it not many years ago by new-comers, and not by choice of the old residenters. What or when was the origin of the former designation, "Tubby Hook," is what no man hereabouts can tell. If any reader of this Magazine can, we shall be glad to see his account of it. Hook or "Hoek," means, in the old Dutch, a point or corner in the land, and gener-

ally as made by a water indentation. That on the Hudson, here, is of rather a diminutive nature, and therefor received, possibly, the humble attributive "Tubby." At the intersection of Broadway with the Inwood avenue to the Hudson R. R. depot, where are to be seen two giant-like, gnarled, very curiously-knotted willows, that have been there *quasi centinels* for near a century, still stands a dilapidated, ancient-looking house, that some twenty-five years ago was called the "Black Horse" tavern, and its sign bore the old local name, now a thing of memory and the matter of our present inquiry.

Inwood, Nov., 1878. W. H.

FRENCH EMIGRÉS AND NEW YORK COFFEE HOUSES.—Brillât-Savarin, the famous gastronome, author of La Physiologie du Goût, gives the following account of the habits of the Frenchmen who were driven from France by the Revolution. "I sometimes passed the evenings in a sort of *café-taverne*, kept by a Mr. Little, where he served in the morning 'Turtle soup,' and in the evening all the refreshments customary in the United States. I generally took with me the Vicomte de la Massue and Jean Rodolphe Fehr, formerly a mercantile broker at Marseilles, both *emigrés* like myself. I treated them to a welch-rabbit, which we washed down with ale or cider, and here we passed the evening talking over our misfortunes, our pleasures and our hopes." A note informs us that the welch-rabbit was a bit of cheese toasted on a slice of bread.

What became of Savarin's companions, and where was Little's Coffee House? FLY-MARKET

EARLY AMERICAN PRINTING.—An almanac for the year 1696 lies before me. The title-page, unfortunately, is wanting; but from the body of the pamphlet it appears that the author was a Quaker, living in West Jersey, and that he had published an almanac for the preceding year. He speaks very impressively of the effects of the eclipses to be expected during the year, though he does not "pretend to prophesie." A chronological table, upon a peculiar plan, gives the number of years that have elapsed since the events mentioned, thus:

Virginia first planted by the English	90
New found-Land first planted	85
New York first planted	83
The first settling of *New Englana*	78
The building of *Boston* in *New England*	66
Maryland first planted	64
Quakers first so called	45
The Professors in *New England* hanged the *Quakers* for Religion	37
Some called *Quakers* at Philadelphia imprisoned and fined *Quakers* for Religion	4
The Dutch yielded New York, *Albany* & *New-Castle* to the *English*	32
Carolina first planted	26
The first building of *Burlington*	18
Pensilvania first so called	16
Philadelphia first founded	14
King William & Queen *Mary* Crowned	8
141 Persons dyed in the County of *Burlington*	7
The great flood in *Delaware*	5
The Terrible Earth-quake in *Jamaica*	4
Queen *Mary* dyed	1

Is a complete copy of this almanac known to exist? Where was it printed?

CHARLES W. BAIRD.

DE BRY'S VOYAGES.—The "Voyages of De Bry" are, I am aware, excess-

ively rare and costly. Collectors say that so rare indeed is De Bry that Mr. James Lenox and Mr. Henry C. Murphy have each been trying for twenty years to perfect complete sets, and without success. Can some of your bibliographical correspondents furnish me with information as to the number of complete sets of the voyages known to exist, where they are to be found, and what constitutes a *complete* set of them?

Brooklyn, N. Y. BIBLIOPOLE.

PETIT'S NARRATIVE.—Can any of the readers of the Magazine inform me whether P. Petit's narrative of the massacre of the Natchez, in Louisiana (1729–1730), and his description of the Natchez Indians, which is a sort of preface to the "Massacre Narrative," have ever been published in the English language. It was written in June, 1730, and published in Vol. XX, of the "Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses de Paris, 1732," and in a German translation in Joseph Stöckleine's "Weltbott," Vol. V.

Cincinnati. H. A. R.

WILLIAMS, THE PORTRAIT PAINTER.—(I, 451, 576, 762.) In a volume entitled "the Artists of America," etc., by C. Edward Lester, N. Y., 1846, on p. 72, the biographical sketch of Benjamin West, the author says:

"Pennington took West to Philadelphia in his ninth year, where he executed a landscape of the Delaware, which so much delighted *Williams*, a portrait painter, that he warmly encouraged him to prosecute his studies. *Williams* may have painted good or bad portraits, but he did one thing worth remembering. He put into West's hands two books, "Du Fresnoy and Richardson, with an invitation to call whenever he pleased and see his pictures." Was not this the Williams who painted the Masonic portrait of Washington for the Alexandria Lodge, No. 22, which now hangs in the Lodge room at Alexandria? What was his full name? Can any one give any account of him? H. E. H.

Brownsville, Pa.

NO MORE CONVENTIONS.—The pithiness of the following remarks will commend it to all true Federalists: "Heaven forbid any Convention for a while! I dread the work of fifteen hundred reformers in the present fluctuation of sentiments. If we must at all amend, I pray for merely amusing amendments; a little frothy garnish. But why do we not rather sit down as brothers and feast on the substantial meat for which we have fasted so long!" This extract we find in the Gazette of the United States of July 8, 1789. From whom is it quoted?

FEDERALIST.

REVOLUTIONARY PENSIONERS. — In December, 1864, a note went the rounds of the press to the effect that there were then living five men receiving pensions for services rendered in the revolutionary war. Are there any of the five now living? INQUIRER.

Brooklyn, N. Y.

AN AUTHOR'S NAME.—"Essays on Various Subjects of Taste, Morals, and National Policy. By a citizen of Vir-

ginia, Georgetown, D. C. Published by Joseph Milligan, 1822. 8vo, p. xi—350." Can any one tell the name of the author of the above volume ?

H. E. H.

A FRENCH HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.—In the Gazette of the United States of 11th July, 1789, I find the following: "Madame la Baronne de Vasse is about to publish at Paris a History of the American Revolution, *La Revolution de l'Amérique*, &c., in two vols., octavo— price to subscribers 10 livres (14 s 2). It will include a period of 27 years, beginning at 1760; and Madame de Vasse assures us, that the information it conveys may be relied on —it being compiled from authentic documents, and indisputable authorities alone, by an uprejudiced and impartial writer. We are also told, that it has been approved by DR. FRANKLIN and other American gentlemen who have seen it in manuscript; and an English author of some distinction in the literary world, has so high an opinion of it as to be engaged in translating it. It is just published." Has this work ever been translated ? LECTOR.

THE FIRST GENERATION.—"Thursday, Nov. 12, 1685. Mr Moosdey preached from Isa. 57, 1. Mr Cobbet's Funeral Sermon ; said also of Mr Chauncy that he was a Man of Singular Worth— Said but 2 of the First Generation left."—*Sewall's Diary.* To whom does Mr. Sewall refer. To two of the first generation of ministers (both Cobbett and Chauncy were ministers), or to two of the first generation of New England settlers ? ENQUIRER.

RED MADEIRA.—Sewall, describing a treat given by the Lieut.-Governor to the Governor and his lady and many more, at which there were two tables (Oct. 27, 1689), says that "Capt Crow breaks a Glass bottle of Madeira as it stood on the floor, so that it run about with its Sanguin Color." What sort of Madeira wine was this ?

ENQUIRER.

CITY ISLAND.—What is the origin of this name of the land now known as City Island in the East River. Tradition tells of an attempt at one time to found a city here, and of the island being laid out in lots. Who was the founder of this scheme, and when was it attempted ?

NEW YORK.

REPLIES

GREEK COLONY IN FLORIDA.—(III, 56.) In the Magazine for January, 1879, a correspondent, who signs himself R. M. P., asks for information respecting the Greek colony at New Smyrna, Florida. I have passed many winters at that place, and have investigated the history of that colony, which is, briefly, as follows :

In 1767 Dr. Trumbull, of Charleston, S. C., came to New Smyrna with a colony of 1,500 persons ; Greeks, Italians and Minorcans, whom he had lured from their homes by promises of bettering their condition. He estab-

lished them on a tract of 60,000 acres, and began the culture of indigo. The people were reduced to slavery, and treated with great cruelty by Trumbull, whose partner in the enterprise was the English Governor of the territory, who kept the colonists in subjection with English troops. This slavery lasted nine years, during which time nearly two-thirds of the colonists perished; but large crops of indigo were raised for the company — one year 30,000 lbs. it is stated.

In 1776, a new Governor having arrived, the petitions of these people for relief were listened to, and they were released from the tyranny of their master. Most of them went to St. Augustine, where their descendants constitute a large part of the native population. A few still remain at New Smyrna.

Traces of Trumbull's settlement remain, in the shape of canals cut through the coquina rock for draining the swamp, and walls and foundations of stone buildings, built and planted more than one hundred years ago by this vanished people.

For accounts of this colony see: Roman's Natural History of Florida, New York, 1775; Williams' Territory of Florida, New York, 1857; Notes on the Floridian Peninsula, Phila., 1859, by Dr. D. G. Brinton; A Guide Book to Florida and the South, Phila., 1869, by Dr. D. G. Brinton.

Jamaica Plains. S. C. C.

SONGS OF THE FATHERS. (III, 198.) —The note of Mr. Parton with the text of the song Follow the Drum, sung by Alexander Hamilton at the Fourth of July dinner of the Cincinnati just before his fatal duel, recalls what I often heard in my youth. Colonel Ebenezer Stevens of the Continental Artillery, later Major-General of the State of New York, was one of the original founders of the Cincinnati, and after the peace a prominent figure among the Continentals. He always gave the closing song at the Fourth of July dinners standing upon the table. The song was "Yankee Doodle" in the old version, and the chorus was joined in by all present.

Alluding to the occasion when Hamilton sung Follow the Drum for the last time, Colonel Stevens said that none of the officers present had any idea that a hostile meeting was anticipated between Hamilton and Burr, and that had such been the case, the old army officers would never have permitted it to take place. J. A. S.

THE BATTLE OF MONMOUTH—LEE A TRAITOR. (II, 408, 569, 758; III, 58.)— Here let me drop the curtain, and invite you to accompany me to the Heights of Monmouth. There let me recall to your indignant view, the flower of the American infantry flying before an enemy that scarce dared to pursue—vanquished without a blow—vanquished by their obedience to the commands of a leader who meditated their disgrace. Let me contrast with this the conduct of your Greene; the calm intrepidity and unshaken presence of mind, with which he seconded the dispositions of his General, to arrest the progress of the disorder and retrieve the fortune of the day. —*Hamilton's Eulogium on Gen. Greene, July* 4, 1789. READER.

(Publishers of Historical Works wishing Notices, will address the Editor, with Copies, Box 100, Station D—N. Y. Post office.)

LE COMTE DE FERSEN ET LA COUR DE FRANCE. EXTRAITS DES PAPIERS DU GRAND MARÉCHAL DE SUÈDE, COMTE JEAN AXEL DE FERSEN. Publiés par son petit neveu, LE BARON R. M. DE KLINCKOWSTRÖM, Colonel Suédois. 2 vols. 8vo, pp. 321-440 Librairie de Firmin—Didot et Cie., Paris, 1877,

COUNT DE FERSEN AND THE COURT OF FRANCE. Extracts from the Papers of the Grand Marshal of Sweden, Count Jean Axel de Fersen. Published by his Grand-nephew, Baron R. M. De Klinkenström, Colonel in the Swedish Army.

It would be difficult to name a private individual since Bayard and Sidney whose career presents more romantic interest or whose character possesses more of the elements of a *preux chevalier* than the famous Count de Fersen, the subject of the memoirs before us. These two volumes, admirably edited, consist of a part of his journal and of letters and documents found among his papers, and in their thrilling graphic details of events, the most dramatic in modern history, lead us to share the regret de Fersen himself expresses at the loss of his memoirs from the year 1780. Not daring to take the rest of them on his person, he left them at Paris upon his flight in 1791, and they were burned by their custodian, from a similar fear. They contained, to use his own words, precious notes concerning the revolution (French), which would have served to throw light on the character of the king and queen and the history of the period. "From them," he adds, true to the single affection which was the most beautiful trait in his career, "the world would have learned how wretched the princess (Marie Antoinette) was, how thoroughly she appreciated her misfortunes, how much she was affected by them, and how her great soul knew how to forgive and to rise superior to injustice in the consciousness of the good that she did and desired to." His devotion to the king and queen, at every personal risk, is a familiar theme. He made all the preparations for the flight of the royal family in June, 1791, and disguised as a coachman, himself drove them from Paris to Bondy. On the failure of the evasion, from causes for which he was not responsible, he was thrown into prison. Released upon the amnesty, he found means to comfort and console the royal captives. From the close of the year 1791 he was their trusted adviser and the medium of their correspondence with the sovereigns of Europe. These volumes contain numerous confidential letters of the queen. The terrible end of de Fersen is the most dramatic episode in history. Returned to Sweden, he received the highest dignities. Hated by the ultra-democratic party at Stockholm, as the head of the high aristocracy of the kingdom, he was selected as a victim of party intrigue. Upon the sudden death of Prince Christian, a popular favorite and the heir to the throne, de Fersen was accused of having poisoned him, and, abandoned doned to the vengeance of the angry crowd, was literally torn to pieces, limb from limb; his clothing, even, shred from shred, in the public streets.

Of extreme beauty of face and person, he was remarked by the queen on his first appearance at the Court of Versailles. There is no doubt that the favorable impression made upon the queen, which gave umbrage to the nobility and offence to the jealous courtiers, was reciprocated by de Fersen, but his soul was too elevated and noble for him to seek the preferment which the interest of the young queen, whose influence was supreme with the king, opened to his ambition. He at once made up his mind that the path of honor and duty was flight, and volunteered in the corps of Rochambeau, about to sail for America. When he took his leave of the queen her lovely eyes filled with tears. But de Fersen did not comprehend self-sacrifice by halves. He would not consent to even the semblance of a preference. To the Duchess de Fitz James, who mocked him with lightly abandoning his conquest, he replied with simplicity, "Had I made one, I should not abandon it," and added, "I leave without a tie, and, alas! no regrets follow me."

Fortunately for us, his letters to his father, describing his services in America, have been wholly preserved; they began at Paris the 2d of March, 1780, with the announcement of his appointment as aide-de-camp to Rochambeau. M. de Vergennes himself secured him this post. Is it extravagant to suppose that the wise minister understood and appreciated the motive of his departure? Certain it is that he was treated by all the French officers with distinction, by Rochambeau with distinguished courtesy, and by the Duke de Lauzun, for whom he contracted a warm attachment, with fraternal affection. His letters from Newport give by far the best account of the French army during the occupation. His opportunities of observation were superior, and his observations themselves have the advantage of having been written under the impression of the moment, and with the frankness of a son

to a father whom he honored and revered. His American correspondence closes with a letter written at Boston December 21st, 1782, on board the ship which carried the French contingent to their service in the Southern station. There are two later from Porto Cabello, dated in the spring of 1783.

As we propose shortly to print a translation of these letters in full in the magazine, we shall not dwell further on their importance.

WILLIAM DAWES AND HIS RIDE WITH PAUL REVERE: an Essay Read before the New England Historic-Genealogical Society on June 7, A. D. 1877; to which is appended a genealogy of the Dawes family, by HENRY W. HOLLAND. 4to, pp. 128. One hundred copies, privately printed for the Editor, by JOHN WILSON & SON, Boston, 1878.

The author of this elegantly printed and expensively illustrated volume need not have said in his preface that it was not meant for the public; the public have a direct interest in it, and Mr. Holland will not do justice to the heroic character who is its subject, nor his descendants, nor yet to himself, unless he place a certain number of this small edition in places where the public can have certain access to them. And we venture to suggest, in this connection, that in all such special editions it is a wise thing for the author to give notice in his preface as to the libraries in which it may be consulted. We have nothing of which to complain; Mr. Holland, at our request, having kindly consented to the deposit of the copy, now under our eyes, in the New York Historical Society in this city.

The narrative portion of this work was read before the Historic-Genealogic Society of Massachusetts. It is now enlarged by the addition of information since obtained, and illustrated with numerous photographs, principally of males and females of the Dawes family, from portraits in their possession.

The ride described has been celebrated in prose and verse and is familiarly known as Paul Revere's Ride. The ride was from Boston to Lexington and Concord, to rouse the country and warn Hancock and Adams, who were in quiet repose, little dreaming of the sudden movement of the British to seize the stores of the colony and to capture their own rebel persons. Three men planned the expedition—Warren, the immortal of Bunker Hill; Revere, the post-rider of the Liberty Boys, and William Dawes, in whose honor these pages. Warren watched from a coign of vantage the British soldiery, and on their movement sent out Dawes by land, over the neck and across the river, at the Brighton bridge, to Cambridge and Lexington, and later Paul Revere by the water route through Charlestown to Lexington.

There have been many stories of this night ride and of the incidents which attended it. In the account of Mr. Holland, we are told that Revere and Dawes met on the Medford Green, and went thence to Concord in company. The argument is elaborate and its details interesting. We may here be pardoned for adding that, in the tradition of the family of the editor, his grandfather, Benjamin Weld, of the Roxbury family and later in the commissary department of the Continental army, was on this memorable evening of the 18th of April, residing at Lexington, where he was engaged as a teacher; that, aroused at night, he mounted a horse, and with a drum rode through the neighboring country, arousing the citizens.

The Dawes genealogy is an elaborate piece of work of the kind, well worth an examination, and there is an admirable name index, for which the compiler deserves credit.

DIARY OF CALEB CRESSON, 1791–1792. Printed from his Original Manuscripts, for Family Distribution, by EZRA TOWNSEND CRESSON. Small 8vo, pp. 214. Philadelphia, 1877.

This is another privately printed volume, which we owe to the courtesy of the family. Why the possessors of a diary like this should confine it to their own circle we do not understand. In pure, fresh thought and quaint language it is refreshing as a spring rain, with its healthful smell of the vegetating earth, to use Mr. Cresson's own words. Take such passages as these: "Hail and rain this morning, which made the roads and streets so slippery as to be difficult to pass. However, I got to meeting three times and was peaceful."—"A snowy morning and a dull day. I employed myself indoors, for I've always something to do, and I'm thankful for it, for I find employment keeps the enemy out."—True enough of more enemies than one; or this: "A fine, fair morn. Nature, rejoicing in the bounty of the Great Creator, now putting on her gayest robes; the fields luxuriant; the animal creation in vigor and high health. O that we may not abuse them—the generous horse particularly, the sportive lamb, the profitable cow, the useful ox," &c.

Caleb Cresson was the grandson of Solomon Cresson, of mixed French and German extraction, who was cast away with Jonathan Dickenson on the Florida coast in 1696, and on his mother's side, of George Emlen, who came over with William Penn. The Cressons belonged to the Friends.

Simple as this diary is, it is full of local sketches which fascinate and detain the eye on every page. He recites with minuteness a journey to New England in 1791, by land, through Burlington, Crosswicks, Rahway and Elizabeth to New York, where he visited among the Quakers, and then set sail to Newport. Here we are introduced to the Friends again. Next he visited Nantucket and Boston, after which he returned by water, quite after the modern fashion, from Newport to New York. In Boston he searched after the places hallowed by the blood of the martyrs in the days of Puritan persecution.

While in New York, he visited Thomas Dobson, whose daughter Lindley Murray married. He drank tea also with Thomas Pearsall, who married another daughter of Dobson. Pearsall lived in Pearl street, in a house on the ground now covered by the Fulton bank. Among the delicious titbit morsels for the palate of an antiquary is his notice of Isaac Collins' great quarto Bible, which he saw in press at Trenton, and his quaint entry under date 1791, 9th day 1st March : "Widow White (mother of him called the bishop), deceased."

The book closes with the "dying sayings of Mary Armitt, who deceased at Philadelphia, second month 18, 1791, aged 83 years." She was not informed that what she spake would be taken down, and no very good reason appears why it should be printed.

The volume is illustrated with a number of photographic silhouettes, which have a grim quaintness quite in character with the text, and it is handsomely bound.

We trust we have shown the appreciation we feel for volumes of this character. The pages of the Magazine are always open to such diaries as these.

HISTORY OF THE SARATOGA MONUMENT ASSOCIATION, Prepared by WILLIAM L. STONE, Secretary of the Association. 8vo, pp. 18. JOEL MUNSELL, Albany, 1879.

At the time of the centennial of the surrender of Burgoyne, due attention was paid to the numerous accounts and addresses that were drawn out by the anniversary of the celebration of the battles of Bemis Heights and Saratoga.

This is an account of the origin and purpose of the Saratoga Monument Association. It contains the memorial to Congress, in 1873, for an appropriation of two hundred thousand dollars, which seems not to have been successful, and the petition to the State Legislature, which voted $10,000 in a bill which Governor Robinson vetoed. Thus the committee were thrown upon their own resources and appealed to the public. The response was, as Mr. Stone puts it, "comparatively generous," and the association laid the corner stone and one fourth of the base. The pamphlet includes a picture of the monument as it is to be when finished. On three of the corners of the plinth are to be set bronze cannon, taken at the surrender ; on the other a cannon said to have been taken from the British in 1813, which seems singularly out of place. Is there no other trophy of the War of Independence, that the committee need lend themselves to such an anachronism ? We hope so.

MEMORIAL SKETCH OF THE LIFE AND LITERARY LABORS OF EVERT AUGUSTUS DUYCKINCK ; read before the New York Historical Society on the seventh day of January, 1879, by WILLIAM ALLEN BUTLER. 8vo, pp. 14. New York, 1879.

Mr. Butler, as an intimate personal friend of Mr. Duyckinck, was selected by the New York Historical Society to prepare a tribute of regard to the memory of this distinguished man of letters, who had been for years its honored corresponding secretary. It would be difficult to find, in the range of this class of literature a sketch so graceful in style, so vernal in its freshness of treatment as this. Mr. Duyckinck's outward life was well known ; he was a successful editor, and owed his success to his labor and his ability to get through with a vast amount of labor in short time—no other conditions of mental temperament suffice to originate and complete a cyclopædia.

In all these personal sketches there is something to be enjoyed. In this we point the reader to the passages wherein the modest home taste —almost that of a recluse, which was the most marked trait of Mr. Duyckinck—are related. He was genial, but never noisily gay ; his smile was outward, constant and lovely, but his laugh was to be seen not heard ; he laughed inwardly, after the manner of his forefathers. He loved the city ; he loved it because of its nearness to the avenues of learning. Mr. Butler compares his urban taste to that of Madame de Stael, who preferred a fourth story in the Rue de Bac to all the glories of Switzerland. The comparison is faultless, but to our mind he recalls more vividly Charles Lamb, haunting the libraries, poring over the book stalls, and for a walk strolling through the quaint places and nooks about Temple Bar ; nor were the men otherwise unlike in their quaint, dry humour and their unfailing love of human kind. It was our good fortune to know Mr. Duyckinck well. His last literary work, perhaps, was the tribute to the friend of his youth, James William Beekman,

prepared for the New York Historical Society and printed in the pages of the Magazine at Mr. Duyckinck's own request.

We regret on many accounts that it was not permitted us to print the present sketch also. This pamphlet is printed from the type of the *Evening Post*, in which his addresses appeared. Let not that hinder it from finding its way to the tables of the numberless literary band who knew and loved Duyckinck, and of whom no one but will be thankful to Mr. Butler that the old companion and friend is not left to "float adown the stream of time without the meed of some melodious tear."

THE TOWN OF ROXBURY: ITS MEMORABLE PERSONS AND PLACES; ITS HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES, with Numerous Illustrations of its Old Landmarks and Noted Personages, by FRANCIS S. DRAKE. 8vo. pp. 475. Published by the AUTHOR, Roxbury, 1878.

New England certainly leads the van in antiquarian investigation, each of her principal cities receiving in turn careful and exhaustive treatment at the hands of her local historians.

In this elaborate volume may be found everything of interest in the history of this ancient town, which the accomplished and thorough author terms "the mother of towns;" fifteen prosperous New England communities, including the flourishing cities of Springfield and Worcester, having been founded or largely settled by citizens of Roxbury. Moreover, she gave three generals to the revolutionary army and no less than ten of the Governors of Massachusetts have been her natives or residents.

The colonists of Roxbury were mostly from London and its vicinity, a few being from the West of England; among them we find names which have illustrated the history of the country, and are still honorably borne by its present residents. Of such are Curtis, Crafts, Dudley, Griggs, Heath, Payson, Parker, Beaver, Weld and Williams. Timothy Stevens, from whom the Andover Stevens stock derived, and the first of the well-known Ruggles family, were of the earlier settlers. Rev. Thomas Weld, one of the first resistants, in England, of Laud's persecutions, was the first pastor of the first church, while his brother, Captain Joseph Weld, if we remember rightly, was the wealthiest settler. They were of the "Sulworth Castle" Weld family.

The volume abounds in local details, for the first time gathered together, covering the colonial period, the siege of Boston—the annals of which are presented with minute accuracy—descriptions of the old roads and dwellings, and biographical sketches of all those who have made them memorable; in a word a mine of historical material and pleasant incidents graphically related.

The volume abounds in engravings of buildings and personages, has fine steel engravings of Governors Shirley and Dudley, and a fac simile of the earliest engraved map of the town.

Roxbury should be well content with such a history, and all historical students grateful for such thorough work. It has an excellent name and subject index.

KING'S HANDBOOK OF BOSTON, profusely Illustrated. 8vo, pp. 292. MOSES KING, Publisher, Harvard College, Cambridge, Mass.

This is the first attempt at a handbook of any of our American cities that we have yet seen, although its manner of construction is hardly what we had expected from its title. We had looked for an account of the localities of the city; squares, churches, streets, houses, monuments, statues, fountains, indeed of every locality, ornament and illustration, reciting its history and changes, from its beginnings till the present day. Such is Cunningham's Handbook of London, and such some day we hope to see of every ancient city on our continent. Mr. King's book, excellent as it is, is rather a guidebook than a work of the character we have described. In it the reader will find, however, a succinct account of the city as it has been and a thorough display of the city as it is.

It is handsomely printed, well-illustrated with maps and views, both full paged and insets, some of which are excellent examples of the last stage of improvement in this rapidly developing branch of art.

HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF DOUGLAS (MASSACHUSETTS) FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE CLOSE OF 1878, by WILLIAM A. EMERSON. 8vo, pp. 359. Published by FRANK W. BIRD, Old Book Shop, Boston, 1879.

The original settlers of the town of Douglas came almost entirely from the town of Sherburn, though a portion of them appear to have hailed from Natick. The territory was known as New Sherburn, or the New Sherburn Grant, until the year 1746, when it received its present name.

The history of the town is elaborately related from the time of the eager participation of its in-

habitants in the revolutionary outbreak to their equally honorable promptness in rallying to the support of the Government in the very first days of the late civil war. A biographical and genealogical department supplies abundant information concerning the families of Hill, Hunt, Wallis (now Wallace), Whipple, Rawson and Dudley, besides some personal sketches.

There are some creditable illustrations, but no index, an omission we consider to be unpardonable in a work of this character, the chief value of which, as of all its kind, is for reference.

SEYMOUR AND VICINITY: HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS, by W. C. SHARPE. 8vo, pp. 148. RECORD PRINT, Seymour, Connecticut, 1878.

The town of Seymour was set apart from the old township of Derby, by act of the General Assembly, in the year 1850. Derby had before been cut down from its original limits by the elimination of Oxford as a separate parish in 1740. The old town was first settled by the family of Johnson, citizens of New Haven. The wives of the two brothers were granddaughters of Jonathan Brewster, an emigrant to Plymouth in the Mayflower. There is a reasonable amount of information in the sketch of the history of the town, and of the churches which it includes, arranged in a manner that savors more of compilation than of any original investigation; still we are thankful for it, as for any town history. The index atones for many deficiencies of arrangement. There are some photographic views, a form of illustration we are not partial to, as little likely to stand the test of time.

A MEMOIR OF CALEB STRONG, U. S. SENATOR FROM MASSACHUSETTS, 1745–1818, by HENRY CABOT LODGE. 8vo, pp. 29. Press of JOHN WILSON & SON, Cambridge, Mass., 1879.

This sketch, which is prefaced by a fine steel engraving, of a portrait of its subject by Gilbert Stuart, is reprinted from the early proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, now in course of publication. Mr. Lodge's thorough acquaintance with New England history and genealogy is sufficient warrant of accuracy and interest in the treatment of a man who, if not of intellectual brilliancy, at least played his part on the public stage in a manner worthy of his vigorous puritan ancestry. He was descended from John Strong, who emigrated from Somersetshire in 1630.

Graduated from Harvard in 1764, his early manhood was passed in the very thick of the excitement which burst all restraint in 1775. In 1779 he represented Northampton in the Convention which formed the Constitution of Massachusetts. He was one of the leaders in the Federal party which secured the ratification of the Constitution of the United States; no easy task in Massachusetts, which of all States most clung, as her founders had done, to autonomy in political government. He was rewarded by the post of United States Senator, one of the first of Massachusetts. In 1800 he easily defeated Mr. Gerry, and became Governor of the Commonwealth. In 1804 he still retained his post, although Massachusetts went over to the Jeffersonian party. In 1807 he was defeated. In 1812 he was restored to the office, again defeating the "Gerrymandering" of his old opponent, Mr. Gerry. In 1814 the State of Massachusetts was at issue with the General Government on the war question. The less said about his action on this occasion the better. He held to the States' rights doctrine in practice as well as theory. He declined the requisition for troops. Massachusetts sustained him and he was re-elected again, and held the office until 1816, when he finally withdrew from public life. He died suddenly in 1818.

MEMOIRS OF THE LIFE AND CHARACTER OF REV. E. M. P. WELLS, D. D., of St. Stephens, Boston, Mass, by Dr. SAMUEL W. FRANCIS. 8vo, pp. 45. Published by CHARLES E. HAMMETT, Jr., Newport, Rhode Island, 1878.

Our friend, the author of this tribute to a most worthy man, derives the descent of his reverend subject from one of the Norman knights of William the Conqueror, and introduces, in his preliminary sketch, the old ballad of the Baker Baron, whose tenure of the manor of Wells depended on his supply of the king's household with bread. The Norman barons were practical fellows; they hated servitude, and were as independent as the Saxons they conquered, but they did not refuse the semblance of it for a suitable consideration in broad lands.

The father of the Rev. Mr. Wells was a lieutenant in the revolutionary army; his son, the minister, was born at Stratford in 1793; began life as a tailor, then turned farmer, later tanner, served faithfully in the war of 1812, and then entered the "army of the Lord." With a perseverance which is not exceptional in New England character, he fitted himself for college, and entered Brown University, which he left, because he would not betray his comrades, for pranks in which he was not a participant.

In 1823 he was licensed as a Congregational minister at Plymouth. After various service in the Protestant Episcopal Church, in which he was ordained priest in 1827, he was, in 1843, elected Episcopal city missionary, which led to the erection of St. Stephen's free chapel by the Hon. William Appleton, of Boston. St. Stephen's House was burned in the great Boston fire of 1872. Mr. Wells died in December, 1878, in the eighty-sixth year of his age. This is the fond tribute of a friend who knew him personally for twenty-two years.

RECORD OF THE SHARPE FAMILY IN ENGLAND AND AMERICA FROM 1580 TO 1870, by W. C. SHARPE. 16mo, pp. 33. Seymour, Connecticut, 1874.

We are glad to put on record this little family sketch. The Sharpes now treated of are supposed to be derived from the family of that name, of Bradford, in Yorkshire, England. There have been many of the name of high repute in theology on both sides of the Atlantic. They have given deans and archbishops to the Anglican Church and divines to Massachusetts, Maryland, South Carolina and Missouri. The first of the name in America were Thomas Sharpe, assistant to Governor Endicott, and Samuel Sharpe, who brought despatches to the same Governor from King Charles II. in 1629. He returned to England in 1631. The latter was "ruling elder" of the Salem Church till his death, in that town, in 1658.

The American branch seems to be descended from Thomas Sharpe, who emigrated to Stratford about 1700. The connection with the earlier emigrants is not made in these pages.

GENEALOGICAL RECORD OF THE DESCENDANTS OF DAVID SAGE, A NATIVE OF WALES, BORN 1639, AND ONE OF THE FIRST SETTLERS OF MIDDLETOWN, CONN. 1652, CAREFULLY PREPARED AND REVISED BY THE AUTHOR FROM AUTHENTIC RECORDS. 8vo, pp. 82. PELTON & KING, Printers, Middletown, Conn., 1878.

There is not much attempt at biography in this anonymous genealogical sketch of the Sage family. In his introduction, however, the author seems to have satisfied himself of several important starting points, and concludes that ninety-four out of every one hundred of the name of Sage, now living in the United States, are the descendants of David Sage, whose name appears in the records of the Congregational church in Cornwall, Conn., from its first organization in 1715.

Beyond this, he has satisfied himself that the Sages are of Welsh origin, as is the uniform tradition of the family. David Sage was born in 1639 and died in 1703. The origin of the family is taken to be Scandinavian, and the name Saga. A coat of arms precedes the sketch. It was granted by William the Conqueror to one of his followers, whose name appears on the Battle Roll of 1066. The motto is *Non Sibi*.

THE HISTORY OF THE COUNTY OF HIGHLAND, IN THE STATE OF OHIO, FROM ITS FIRST CREATION AND ORGANIZATION TO JULY 4, 1876, TOGETHER WITH THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE ASSEMBLED PEOPLE WHO MET ON THAT DAY AT HILLSBORO, THE COUNTY SEAT, TO CELEBRATE THE CENTENNIAL BIRTHDAY OF THE NATION; AND ALSO A CONTINUATION OF THE HISTORY TO DECEMBER 31, 1847, by JAMES H. THOMPSON, of Hillsboro, Ohio. 8vo, pp. 132. HILLSBORO GAZETTE JOB ROOM, 1878.

This elaborate title sufficiently indicates the purpose of this pamphlet, another of the valuable records invited by the proclamation of President Grant to the citizens of all of our towns to recite their history. Ohio is an old territory, but not yet an ancient State, although she is second to none in enterprise and intelligence, thanks to the far-seeing sagacity of those who laid down her political landmarks. The county of Highland was organized in 1805; its history is therefore of recent achievement. It bore an honorable part in the war of 1812, the Mexican war and the recent civil contest.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY AND MEMORIALS OF ICHABOD WASHBURN, SHOWING HOW A GREAT BUSINESS WAS DEVELOPED AND LARGE WEALTH ACQUIRED FOR THE USES OF BENEVOLENCE, by Rev. HENRY T. CHEEVER. 16mo, pp. 222. D. LATHROP & Co., Boston, [1878].

All veracious accounts of the struggles and triumphs of those who are called successful men have a certain interest; they are doubly valuable when the results of their plans and combinations are devoted to the benefit of their fellows.

Ichabod Washburn, who here relates his own experience, was born in Kingston, Mass., in

1798, being of mixed Puritan and Huguenot extraction, a promising combination of those elements which "make up a man." His training was in the school of adversity, the blacksmith's sledge-hammer being his first tool. After conscientious service as journeyman, he began business for himself in a small way in a machine shop at Worcester. For some years he was associated with a partner; but in 1831 began the manufacture of iron-wire on his own account. In 1830 he was induced by Mr. Chickering, the father of American pianoforte industry, to undertake the manufacture of steel springs for his instruments, a business which had been in English hands for eighty years. In this manufacture Mr. Washburn acquired a large fortune, and at his death, in 1868, left an estate of $424,000, of which he bequeathed to charitable and religious institutes over $400,000.

This volume has been prepared to preserve and illustrate the record of his useful life.

THE DESCENDANTS OF NATHANIEL MOWRY OF RHODE ISLAND. By WILLIAM A. MOWRY. 8vo, pp. 343. SIDNEY S. RIDER. Providence, 1878.

A FAMILY HISTORY—RICHARD MOWRY OF UXBRIDGE, MASS.; HIS ANCESTORS AND DESCENDANTS. By WILLIAM A. MOWRY, A. M. 8vo, pp. 197. SIDNEY S. RIDER. Providence, 1878.

In these handsomely-printed and well-illustrated volumes an account is given of the descendants of Nathaniel Mowry, born 1644, and of Johanna, his wife, daughter of Edward Inman.

The Mowry family is one of the earliest in Northern Rhode Island, and throughout its history, though without remarkable prominence, has borne its part with honor.

The cuts illustrating the books are extremely interesting. They represent the house of Captain Joseph Mowry, built at Smithfield, R. I., in 1708, one of the oldest now standing in the State, and even yet in good condition; the house of Colonel Elisha Mowry, also at Smithfield, built in 1759, and still an excellent one. As an instance of the longevity of Rhode Island families, it is recorded that though one hundred years old it has been occupied only by three families, the father, son and grandson in lineal descent; the house of Richard Mowry, at Uxbridge, Mass., built in 1778, is also standing and in perfect order.

Returning to the orignal Mowry, Nathaniel, we find that the book records the names of 1575 of his descendants, of whom 1075 of the name of Mowry. In the Family History we find several other pictures of interest, and some photographic portraits of men of the name.

JOHN LOTHROP MOTLEY: A MEMOIR, by OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES. 16mo, pp. 278. HOUGHTON, OSGOOD & CO., the Riverside Press, Cambridge, 1879.

In this admirably edited volume, with its sectional headings carefully dated and a running marginal index of subjects, we rejoice to find a return to the good old fashion of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when books were not so many, perhaps, as in our day, but were more carefully studied and prepared.

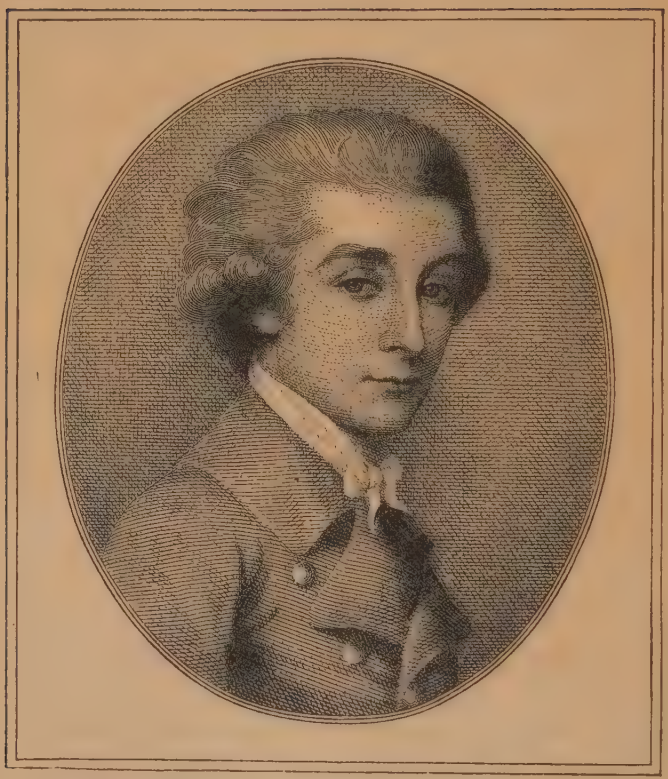
This is, in truth, a memoir, and by a master hand. We are led gradually, not harshly, yet not with dilatory step, through the early years of the precocious youth who at thirteen was admitted to Harvard College, to which, at that tender age, he brought the reputation of a "wonderful linguist," as well as a personal beauty, which so increased that in early manhood he was as ideally handsome as even Shelley, who was his favorite poet. Yet with all his beauty and fascination of manner he was manly and unconscious.

It is not necessary to dwell upon his literary career, which has received ample notice in these pages [I. 454, 458, 696, 772], nor yet to open again the vexed controversy upon his recall, but it is well to put on record the opinion of Dr. Holmes that "the ostensible grounds on which Mr. Motley was recalled are plainly insufficient to account for the action of the Government."

An appendix contains some tributes paid to his memory, including the poems of W. W. Story and William Cullen Bryant, the latter a sonnet in stately Shakesperian style, which embalms and perpetuates his fame.

NOTICE.

WASHINGTON PORTRAITS.—We are requested to announce that Messrs. Charles Henry Hart & William A. Baker, of Philadelphia, are preparing a "Descriptive List of all the Engraved Portraits of Washington, with Notes and Observations on the Original Pictures," and desire persons having collections to communicate directly with them.—EDITOR.



LE COMTE AXEL DE FERSEN, AT THE AGE OF 28.

After a miniature painted at Paris.

MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

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THE PRISONERS OF MATAMOROS

A REMINISCENCE OF THE REVOLUTION OF TEXAS

INCIDENTS connected with the long uncertain fate of certain prisoners of war in Matamoros, during the spring and summer of 1836, form an episode in the epic of the Texas revolution which, though not historically important, is interesting from the showing it gives of the better, as well as the worse side of the Mexican character. The events which led to the capture of those men have never been very correctly related, and merit narration from their singularity rather than the examples of wisdom they contain.

During the winter of that year, when the invasion of Texas by Santa Ana was impending, there seemed, as I observed in a former article [Magazine of American History, II, 1], little less than anarchy left to withstand it. There were seven hundred volunteers, more or less, for the number was continually fluctuating, stationed at San Antonio, and in Goliad and its neighborhood, but mostly in the latter section. Sam Houston had been commissioned by the Provisional Government a Major-General of regular troops, not yet raised, with the right to command all volunteers who might enter the service of Texas; but the split of that government into a duality led to conflicting measures which neutralized his authority, and he was unable to effect a concentration of the scattered forces under arms. The garrisons of San Antonio and Goliad acted without concert; and a smaller body, which had part of it split off from the former garrison, the rest being raised separately, entered upon independent action further west. This was a band of mounted men which, I think, once reached the number of two hundred, but did not generally exceed a hundred, and which took position, early in the winter, at San Patricio, on the Nucas, an Irish village, and the most western of the foreign settlements in Texas. This force was commanded by Colonel Frank W. Johnson and Colonel Don Diego Grant, both of whom had performed gallant service in the taking

of San Antonio, where Johnson commanded the assault after the fall of Milam. He was the ranking officer in the present enterprise, Grant being nominally his second.

Doctor James Grant, to come back to his original name and title, had come to Mexico some years before, a young Scotch physician in the service of an English company engaged in extensive leases and speculation in real estate. Grant, a few years after his arrival, gave up his position in the company, and entered upon some daring and astute operations of his own, which made him rich; and he became the owner of a large landed estate, of farm, vineyard and pasture land, in the neighborhood of Parras, in Coahuila. He was a man of great energy, versatility and resource, and was in character more like a reckless Anglo-American than a canny Scot. The success of one bold risk was sure to lead to another more rash; and in his grasp after great objects, he was prone to overlook the minor details, often essential to safety. In anticipation of being a land holder he had of course secured Mexican citizenship; and he soon plunged into politics, and became a member of the Legislature of Coahuila and Texas, and a Colonel of State troops. When Santa Ana's usurpation occurred he joined the Governor in an abortive attempt to oppose it, which led to the arrest of both: but the night after they were started, under a military escort, on their way to the City of Mexico, they succeeded in bringing over the soldiers of their guard, who changed them from prisoners into leaders, and deserted with them to Texas, where they arrived in time for Grant to take part in the capture of San Antonio.

Grant's services were well appreciated by his new associates, but his position was quite different from theirs. They as well he still professed to be citizens of the double-named State, and their home was his place of refuge; but their interests like their home lay in revolutionary Texas, while his fortune lay in Coahuila, which had not revolted. As a declaration of independence by Texas would cut him off from a recovery of his estate, all his energies were turned against the tendency which he saw in the people of Texas towards such a declaration. He was, therefore, anxious to get up an expedition for the capture of Matamoros, in the hope of there rallying around him the liberal element of Mexico, and by working out success to its cause, of preserving the union of Texas with Mexico. If his scheme could not take in the whole of Mexico, he hoped it might apply successfully to a Confederation of the northern States of that Republic. The notion was visionary, for the liberals of Mexico, having already suffered, would not have rallied

around a slender force, and Texas, even if united and earnest, could have afforded no other. That assisting force to rally around, moreover, would not have been accepted had it been alien. This truth was heard daily from ordinary men, but superior minds, like Mexia and Grant, could not see it. Genius is bound to rise above vulgar ideas, but often tries it with a rickety ladder.

Grant had much of the leader's magnetism which infuses his feeling into others, and attaches men to his person. Several prominent men at first favored his plan, and he obtained for it a qualified sanction by the Council, which, after its repudiation of the Governor, called itself the Government. Among the men of influence who sustained Grant was Colonel Johnson, who had been his commander in the attack on San Antonio, and to secure the cooperation of that officer, Grant, though the originator and soul of the enterprize, was willing still to recognize Johnson as his superior. At a time when authority was divided, weak, and without unity of plan, it was not difficult for these leaders to draw away from San Antonio a part of its garrison and of the medical and other stores which had there been put in deposit.

Soon after taking post at San Patricio, Grant surprised and captured a small Mexican detachment, under Captain Rodriquez, which had come from the Rio Grande on a reconnoissance. There was no loss on either side, and the prisoners were released on parole. The first object of these Texan leaders was to collect horses, on which to mount a larger force which they hoped soon to raise, and a part of January and February was occupied with raids on the Mexican ranchos between the Nueces and Rio Grande. That space is an arid region, mostly of prairie, with little arable land, but having scattered through it several good grazing tracts, then occupied by stock farms, where large numbers of horses, as well as of cattle, were herded. The last of the aforesaid raids, which was made in February, and extended to the neighborhood of Matamoros, was quite successful, so far as its immediate object was concerned. Large numbers of horses were seized, and Grant gave in return for them bills on the Federal Congress of Mexico, to be paid so soon as it should be reinstated. If any of those drafts have since been honored, I have never heard of it. About six months after the making of the requisitions, I conversed with a ranchero, who had parted with a hundred horses in one of those transactions. He seemed to have acquired a wholesome prejudice against unconvertible paper.

After scouring the country near the Rio Grande, the expedition fell back towards the Nueces; but on their way thither the force divided.

Grant, with fifty-six of his rangers, diverged to the northwest to visit a rancho in that direction, while Johnson, with the remainder of the men and the live stock, proceeded to San Patricio, where they arrived on the 25th of February. A few days later Grant, with his detachment, having accomplished their object of securing more horses, turned their steps towards the same place. The stock for mounting must now have been quite large, and the sanguine spirit of Grant may have expected to improvise riders as rapidly as he had acquired horses; but danger was nearer than he apprehended. Brevet Brigadier-General Urrea, with his regiment of dragoons, had arrived at Matamoros on the 18th of January, and was soon after joined by a battalion of infantry from Yucatan. These troops were sent to operate by way of the coast against Texas, while Santa Ana crossed the Rio Grande higher up. The approach to Matamoros of the raiders, whose number rumor exaggerated, caused some needless alarm among the inhabitants; needless because it occurred when the place was occupied by nearly a thousand troops, for there was a local garrison in addition to the two corps I have mentioned. The scheme of an aggressive movement, which Grant probably still clung to, had become even more visionary than when he first took it up. The alarm I have just spoken of may have precipitated Urrea's movement; for the day after the popular scare he crossed the Rio Grande with his dragoon regiment and battalion of foot, each of which numbered about three hundred and fifty men. These, with a troop of militia cavalry, made up probably a force of about seven hundred and fifty. He pushed ahead with his dragoons on the yet warm tracks of Johnson's retreat, and reached San Patricio at three o'clock on the morning of February 27th, when the latter had been there but a day and two nights. Johnson's men, numbering about forty, were quartered in two or three palisade huts. That officer and four companions lodged in a separate cabin. One of them was Grant's former partner in Mexico, afterwards well known in Texas as Judge Toler. All had gone to rest rather like travelers after a journey, than like soldiers before an ever-expected fight. It was said that there was no picket on duty to watch, no sentry to fire an alarm, nor even a dog to bark. It must have been so, for the first intimation the Texans had of hostility was the shout of "Viva Santa Ana" in front of their quarters. As the inhabitants of the place were mostly friendly to the Mexican cause, Urrea had no difficulty in securing guides. A summons to surrender at the men's quarters not being responded to, the dragoons pulled up the stakes which formed the sides of the huts, and after firing their car-

bines among the inmates rushed in with drawn sabres. The surprise was so complete, and the force of the assailants so superior, that most of their victims were probably cut down before defense could be attempted. I never heard that Urrea lost a man on this occasion; and the "long and vigorous resistance" Yoakum tells of is fabulous. A few of the Texans taken in the village were spared, which may have been because those in one of the huts made a timely surrender. A few were captured without resistance at the cattle-pens outside.

When the men's barracks were confronted, a squad of dismounted dragoons drew up also at the door of Johnson's quarters, and commanded the inmates to strike a light. Before it could be done the firing at the other huts was heard, and Johnson and his companions, deeming their situation desperate, made a rush for escape or death from the only door of the cabin. To their surprise they found the coast clear, for the besieging squad had been drawn away by the firing to the scene of the carbinade. This coincidence of the two movements saved the men who sallied with an apparent certainty of being cut down; for under the favor of night they made their way out of the village, and taking the safest route to Goliad, arrived there the next day. The prisoners were secured, and for the moment were not badly treated.

On the 1st of March Urrea marched with a part of his cavalry, numbering about two hundred, to intercept Grant on his way back. Scouts kept the former advised of the movements of the latter, and as he knew by what route to expect his enemy, he selected for a seat of ambuscade a spot fifteen or twenty miles from San Patricio, where the path of Grant's return crossed a run called Agua Dulce, and was there beset with thickets. Under cover of these Urrea distributed his troopers, divided into five or six squads. Not long after these dispositions were made Grant appeared at the head of his men. He had no advance, nor any flankers or scouts thrown out to feel the way. It was a cold day, and the rangers, well wrapped in their blankets, came along, singing as they rode, as little conscious of their own danger as of the fate of their companions, when a sudden charge of the dragoons struck down with sword and lance about half their number, almost before they knew an enemy was upon them. They barely had time to fire a few shots before those who survived the first charge dashed through what opening there was left between surrounding squads of troopers, and fled at the utmost speed of their horses. Their hurried fire,

according to Urrea's report, did him no other damage than the wounding of one horse; and the survivors could not assert with certainty that any of the dragoons were killed or wounded.

Some of the fugitives were captured, and some killed in the pursuit; and among the latter was Grant, who made a flight of some miles before his horse gave out. One of his men who witnessed his death, a gentleman in whose statement I have full confidence, related to me the circumstances while a prisoner; and I repeat them here to contradict a fiction, as absurd as it is horrible, which has passed into written and published history. This gentleman who, I think, is still living, is Colonel R. R. Brown, afterwards a well-known planter in Texas. He said that while he was flying in a course parallel with that of Grant, but a few hundred yards from him, he saw Grant, who was hotly pursued by a dragoon, while his horse was failing, suddenly make signs of surrender by throwing down his sword and pistols and dismounting. The horseman rode up to him, but, as yet, showed no disposition to violence; but while Grant was speaking to him, another trooper charged in and ran Grant through the body with his lance, and then both of the soldiers joined in mangling the body of the fallen man. Brown was soon after run down and captured, but was spared, which, if I recollect aright, was because an officer happened to be within commanding distance of the men who took him. Father Maloy, the priest of San Patricio, afterwards informed me that he saw Grant's sword, knife and jacket, and other articles known as his, brought in by the dragoons when they returned from Agua Dulce, and that he was undoubtedly killed on the same day and the same field with the mass of his band. A rumor of his escape came to Matamoros a few days after the news of his death; and it was in discussing the conflict of reports that Father Maloy, who had arrived there, gave me the above information. A worse fiction than that of escape followed. The butchery of Grant after surrender was shocking enough, but the greed then prevailing among Americans for tales of Mexican cruelty was willing to accept something more elaborate. About this time an Italian doctor, named Constanza, was expelled from Monterey for conduct unbecoming a physician and a gentleman, and a little later in the season he went to New Orleans with no kind feeling towards the people who had cast him out. By way of reprisal he furnished a sensation newspaper, which named him as authority, with a new version of Grant's death, which was afterwards taken up as authentic by Yoakum in his history of Texas. As given in that work, it states that Grant was wounded and captured alive, and

taken to San Patricio by the Mexicans, that they might make use of his skill there in the treatment of their "numerous wounded." When they had got three weeks service out of him in this way, but before his own wound was healed, he was tied to the tail of a wild horse, and turned loose to meet a worse fate than that of Mazeppa. This atrocity is attributed to a captain whom Urrea left in command of a garrison at San Patricio. Now no such garrison was left there, and Urrea's *numerous* wounded had not yet begun to bleed; for it is doubtful if one of his men was hurt in the two safe and easy massacres they had achieved. Even if the time and manner of Grant's death had not been amply proved, no one ought to have accepted this silly fabrication as probable. Had Grant been taken, his doom, it is true, would have been more irrevocably sealed than that of Fannin, but he would have been, from the Mexican point of view, too important a prisoner to be disposed of by obscure assassination. The example of his execution would have been exhibited where it would have been more impressive than in the chaparal of the Nueces.

Grant was thirty-eight years of age at the time of his death. On the day it occurred he was probably the only armed Texan leader who still harbored any hope for the Constitution of 1824, or any wish to prolong the union of Texas with Mexico; for since he had been on the frontier the change of feeling had been more rapid and wide than he probably knew of, and even since he had parted from Johnson, the change may have overtaken the latter also. It is a coincidence worthy of note that the cause so clung to by Grant literally died with him almost, if not quite, to the hour. The last opposer of separation fell beyond the Nueces on the same 2d of March on which the Independence of Texas was declared at Washington on the Brazos. In one sense Grant may be viewed as a representative man, being the last drop of an element which six months before had been almost pervasive. The magnetism which I have attributed to his personality is apparent from the fact, that the survivors of his band loved his memory, notwithstanding the gulf into which he had lured them. As a leader in great affairs, he might or might not have achieved *temporary* success, but it would have been nothing more; yet in such an enteprize he could have been a powerful auxiliary to a mind of greater calibre and better balance than his own. I discuss his traits thus fully because he acquired in the affairs of Texas a prominence, which, had he lived, might have grown sufficiently to work far more good and ill to her cause than the shortness of his actual career admitted of.

The followers of Johnson and Grant, if the survivors may be accepted as a fair sample, were I think above the average of men who composed the volunteer forces of Texas from abroad; they were mostly of recent arrival in the country, and young men under thirty. Some were gentlemen, none of the lowest filibuster type, and in their case we see a fine material for soldiers sacrificed to a lack in their leaders of the first principles of soldiership. Why was this? Johnson had commanded a successful attack on a fortified position, garrisoned by a stronger, and technically a better force than his own. Grant, who had previously done some military duty in Mexico, had shown great efficiency and intelligence in the same enterprise, and there were officers with them to the last who had done well on the same occasion. How was it then that they overlooked precautions which the most stolid of old-fashioned sergeants would have observed? It was not, I think, the fault of the men, who I doubt not would have performed their part in that direction if required. Primary steps of vigilance, it is true, would not in this case have won victory, but they would have averted reproach, saved a larger remnant, and brought a nobler exit to those who fell, as well as a dearer triumph to the enemy. I can account for the discrepancy between earlier and later conduct only by assuming that leaders who enter upon an impossible and unauthorized undertaking, usually meet with distractions which confuse common sense; and it is usually only a mind liable to such confusion that will take up such an enterprise. The outcome was in this case a tragical farce, such as I have before spoken of as characterizing most of the contest.

The prisoners taken by Urrea in the two actions numbered twenty-three. Two of them were detained in Texas, though eventually released, and the remaining twenty-one were sent under an escort to Matamoros. Of the latter number, seven were Mexicans of San Antonio; one was an Englishman, one an Irishman, and one a German of culture and a photographic artist named Langenheim. The remaining eleven were natives of the United States. Before their capture, Urrea had received orders from Santa Ana to have all Texans and foreigners in Texas, found in arms against the Government, promptly shot. Urrea, though a man of not much capacity or principle, was not bloodthirsty, and when not overruled by orders of a superior, or stirred by irritation, was disposed to treat prisoners with lenity. On this occasion he wrote to Santa Ana that he could not bring himself to execute men in cold blood, and begged his General-in-Chief to excuse him for having turned his prisoners over to the officer in command at Mata-

moros. I learned this from General Bradburn. He was present when the letter was received and read by Santa Ana, who made no comment on it to those present. Urrea, however, though he did covet the office of an executioner, in this act merely shifted to another a task which was repugnant to himself, as he afterwards did when he left behind him the prisoners of Goliad. Those from San Patricio arrived in Matamoros, where I then resided, before the middle of March, and were confined in a large barrack in the lower edge of the city, where the garrison was quartered.

Before I go on with the fortunes of these prisoners, I must turn back to relate an event of that vicinity, which, though it had no connection with them, is worthy of note here, as including the first military execution of the season. Just before Urrea's march for Texas a Mexican war schooner, called the Bravo, was lying off Brazos Santiago, the port or landing place of Matamoros, and about twenty miles from it. In going out over the bar she had received some damage to her rudder, in consequence of which she anchored, and was waiting a favorable opportunity to put back for repairs. It was, I think, a few days before Urrea crossed the Rio Grande that an armed schooner of rakish appearance, and bearing the American flag, hove in sight, and bore down to within half-cannon shot of the Bravo, where she lay-to, and sent a boat with an officer to board that vessel. The latter was commanded by Captain Davis, an American, who had long been in the Mexican navy. Another officer of the same service, but of later appointment, Captain Thompson, an Englishman, though not attached to the vessel, was now on board, having come out to the assistance of Davis after the accident. When the strange vessel appeared Thompson, who had the keen eye of a British tar, said at a glance, "That craft has a fine look, but is no American man-of-war or cutter, but I suspect is the Texan schooner Invincible." The boat came alongside, and the officer, a young man, wearing the uniform of the U. S. Revenue Service, was invited on board. He informed Captain Davis that the vessel he came from was a U. S. Revenue Cutter, which he named, and that she had been sent out with dispatches from the U. S. Government, demanding explanation or satisfaction for an offense against the United States, naming some recent affair which had been a source of irritation. "He had not brought the papers, but had merely come," he said, "to announce the vessel's errand." Captain Davis replied that the papers might be sent to the army officer commanding at the port, who would transmit them to

the General; but that, as a pre-requisite to this, he must ascertain to his own satisfaction that the vessel was what the officer claimed her to be. "I must detain you and your boat's crew till I send my boat," he said, "to obtain the assurance I desire." He then directed Captain Thompson to take a sloop-rigged harbor boat, in which the latter had come off, and visit the doubtful stranger. Thompson had made himself very odious in Texas by captures on the coast, and by defiant bearing after he was himself captured; and he had no desire to fall into the hands of Texans, especially as a hostage. As he felt more convinced since he had seen the officer and boat's crew of the other vessel, that she was not what she claimed be, he did not receive the order graciously. "Captain Davis," said he, "if this is your order, I must obey it; but you are putting on me a duty which I do not relish." As Davis did not withdraw the command, Thompson at once proceeded to fulfill it. The wind was against him, and he had to beat up to the strange vessel, which he did till the last tack brought him close under her lee. An officer on her deck then incautiously looked over the bulwark, and Thompson's quick eye recognized the face of his old acquaintance, Jerry Brown, who he already knew had been assigned to the command of the Invincible. Thompson at once reversed his course, and while he put up the helm laid himself down, for he knew that he had struck a vein of lead. At the same time Captain Brown cried out, "Fire! that is Thompson—have him, dead or alive!" The hurried volley of the marines passed over Thompson as he lay flat with the tiller in his hand, and it failed also to bring him to; for the wind being now in his favor, he ran back before it with great speed to the Bravo. Notwithstanding what had occurred, Captain Davis at once released the boat of the Invincible and her crew, who pulled back to their own vessel, while the pretended revenue officer was hurried on shore in one of the Bravo's boats.

I must now shift the scene to the deck of the Invincible. Captain Jerry Brown, after being appointed to the command of that vessel, and making some trips on public service, sailed to the Mexican coast to see what could be picked up in the way of prize or sea fight. He took on board either at New Orleans or in Texas, as a companion for his cruise, a young friend, a Mr. Living, who had lately been a lieutenant in the U. S. Revenue Service. Brown, on arriving off the Brazos, with American colors flying, recognized the vessel lying near the bar as the Bravo. Though he did not probably know of her crippled condition, he knew his own vessel to be more than a match for her; and all he had to

do was to open fire and sink her before she could get out of his reach. There was no chance for capture, for if unable to run in, she could be put on the bar or stranded. Time, then so precious, ought not to have been wasted in parley or masquerade; but Living proposed to board her in disguise, and see if some advantage (what he did not try to guess) could not be gained by a trick of espionage. The Invincible could be palmed off on the Mexicans as an American cutter, and as Living had one of his old uniforms with him, he could pass himself for an American Revenue officer. As all was known already that was needed for immediate action, Living could have had no other object than a smart piece of masquerading which he might afterwards boast of. Brown saw the risk and inutility of the plan, yet weakly allowed himself to be importuned into assenting to it; and the last words he said to Living as the latter left the Invincible was that he disapproved of his own consent. Brown was a genial, good-hearted skipper, suddenly converted into a naval officer, and had not acquired the sternness towards meddlesome friends and smart young men which his position required. When the crew of the Invincible saw that their boat was detained, they felt anxious for the safety of their shipmates, and at the turning point of the play, when Thompson was fired on, some of the tars swore that they saw their comrades butchered on the deck of the Bravo. This vision of clairvoyance, however, was soon contradicted by normal sight when the boat and crew came safely alongside. So soon as it was seen that Living was not on her, Captain Brown lowered his stars and stripes, ran up the flag of 1824, and opened fire on the Bravo, then getting under way, as well as her condition allowed. She stood in for the harbor, but lack of steering power, as well as the difficulty of the channel, caused her to lodge on the bar, where a few shots from the Invincible filled her with water. Yoakum calls this affair an action of two hours; but the cannonade must have lasted a much shorter time, and I think it was all on one side.

Brown was unduly censured because he did not rescue Living. He could not have done so without capturing the port, for which his force was not sufficient, even if he had been safe inside; and had he attempted to get there without a pilot, and with his vessel's deep draft, the Invincible would probable have shared the fate of the Bravo. Brown deserved any amount of censure for allowing scope to Living's folly against his own judgment, but once committed it was past remedy, and he felt the result intensely at the time.

When Captain Brown was about standing out from the Brazos, a

sail hove in sight, which, on being boarded and examined, proved to be the American brig Pocket from New Orleans, which had been freighted by the Mexican Government with provisions for the Mexican army, and she was now in Mexican waters, almost in possession of the enemy. Brown, after consulting with his officers, concluded that she was a lawful prize. He captured her accordingly, and took her into Galveston Bay. The United States afterwards reclaimed her value as an unjustifiable seizure, and it was eventually paid; but the capture was then a godsend to Texas. The cargo of that vessel served to feed the destitute and houseless crowd which gathered on Galveston Island during the season of panic and flight.

Poor Living's fate was sealed. He had come under a false character, and in disguise, to the deck of a Mexican man-of-war from an enemy's armed vessel, which he represented as a neutral; and this in any country would have stamped him as a spy, and made him worthy of death by the laws of war. The court-martial which tried him took that view of his case, and he was shot at Brazos Santiago a few days after he was taken. He had aimed at nothing worse than a farce, but it turned into a tragedy. Again the ever-recurring trait of the contest turns up.

A few days after the arrival of the Texan prisoners from San Patricio, the American residents of Matamoros learned that they were suffering from hunger. The officers of whom inquiry was made concerning this said that the deficiency of food was owing to some derangement in the routine of the commissariat, as well as its lack of means, which had put the garrison also on scant allowance, but that it had been and still was the intention of the military authorities to give the prisoners the same rations allowed to the troops. It was then proposed by the American residents who made the inquiry, that they should furnish the prisoners with rations, if the Commissariat would when in funds pay to the contributors the regulation price of the rations so furnished. This was agreed to, and the food of the prisoners was supplied on this footing for over six months. During about two months the funds were derived from a subscription among the aforesaid residents; but for the rest of the time, four months and upwards, owing to a misunderstanding among the contributors, the burthen was thrown wholly upon one of them, who had volunteered to act as a factor for the rest. No part of this outlay was ever refunded by the Mexican authorities, but the portion paid by the largest contributor was afterwards returned to him by Texas. He ceased to supply the prisoners at

their own request; for when they learned that the burthen had long been thrown upon one, they offered to take the risk of starvation rather than let the imposition continue, saying they would bear three days hunger to see if it would shame their custodians into doing their duty. The experiment succeeded without the penance apprehended, for when the dole of charity stopped, the Government rations took its place.

Before this transaction came to an end, however, the prisoners underwent more trying vicissitudes. Immediately after their arrival they were, one after another, put under examination of a military commission to elicit evidence of the circumstances under which they were taken. It was not a formal trial, and seemed to be conducted in a way so leisurely that it appeared like an expedient to delay action on their case. We, the foreign residents, though we had heard of the massacre at the Alamo, and the execution of Captain King's and Colonel Fannin's men, entertained hopes, perhaps unreasonable, that under the influence of success, Santa Ana's thirst for blood had become sated; and that these men, being more out of the range of his notice than those who had gone before them would be spared. It was, then, with some surprise as well as extreme pain, that we learned, early on the 16th of April, that the prisoners were all to be shot at dawn the next morning. I happened to be one of the first of the American residents who heard the news, and luckily I hit upon the safest person I could have selected to apply to immediately for advice and aid. This was Don Francisco Lojero, a citizen of the place, who had, at different times, filled important offices in that country. I inquired of him if the painful report I had heard was true. "Too true, to my sorrow," he replied. "But," said I, "how is it that these men are to be executed within twenty-four hours after their doom is announced? Does not the law allow to all persons under sentence of death three days' grace?" "It does," said he, "the respite we call *capilla;* the object of it being to give all criminals time to make religious preparations for death. These unfortunate men are entitled to it by law, and I know not why the General has not allowed it. I will go to him immediately and inquire about it."

He went at once. The officer in command there was Brigadier-General Vital Fernandez, who had been the local commandant before Urrea's arrival, as well as after his departure. His headquarters were near, and Lojero soon returned. "The General," said he, "informs me that he has not allowed the usual respite to the prisoners before execution, because he thought it would only prolong their mental sufferings;

but he admits they are entitled to it, and he will will grant it still if they will petition for it. Here are pens, ink and stamped paper. Please take a seat, and write out a petition for the prisoners to sign. I do not offer to do it, because it had better be in English, that they may understand it at once, and sign without hesitation." I wrote, in brief terms, a supplication for the short respite the law allowed, and explained it to Lojero, who approved of it, and advised me to go at once to the barrack, and request the officer of the guard to have the paper sent in and signed by the prisoners, and then to forward it without delay to the General. In a few minutes I was at the barrack, where I saw an increase of the outward signs of vigilance. The guard was doubled, and the sentry halted me with more curt formality than usual. The officer of the guard wore a sad solemnity of visage, which lightened up a little when I read into Spanish the paper I held in my hand. He took it, and assured me that all I requested should be promptly despatched.

The news of the day not only brought profound grief to the foreign residents, of whatever nationality, but served to sadden the inhabitants generally. Matamoros was a new place, which had grown from a village to a city in less than twenty years, and it had never been, like other parts of Mexico, the scene of those revolutionary outrages which harden the hearts of a people. That population, moreover, had no love for Santa Ana, though it had joined in no effort to resist his usurpation.

I felt no anxiety about the General's failure to fulfill his promise, but I did not learn that the granting of the respite had been formalized till late in the night, when the official translator, a Franco-American, came to me with the petition I had drawn up in his hand, now bearing the General's endorsement of approval. It had been handed to the translator that he might attach to it a certified version in Spanish; and as I had written the original, he came for the courtesy of submitting his rendering of it to me. This gave me an opportunity of seeing the paper after it was signed. I looked well at the signatures of those men who believed themselves about to die; and not one of them showed any signs of tremor.

On the following day the American Consul, D. W. Smith, addressed to General Fernandez a strong protest against the execution. He could claim nothing for the prisoners as citizens of his own country, but he remonstrated against their sentence as contrary to the dictates of humanity and civilization, quoting Vattel largely to show that such

blows of martial authority, even against rebels, could no longer be reconciled to the rules of warfare, or to existing laws of nations. But neither this, nor anything else seemed to be of any avail. I think it probable, though I do not know it to be so, that a recent communication from Santa Ana had put an end to the temporizing delay with which Fernandez had at first hoped to save the prisoners, and that he was under a sudden fright when he withheld the respite of *capilla*. Each lagging day now seemed to take away a third part of the life of each doomed man. Still sympathy with their lot grew more intense, and seemed as strong in the better class of natives as in the American residents. The third day came, and then the night, supposed to be the last; for no hope, so far as I then new, had dawned. But there was a movement stirring which I did not yet know of. Late that night, after I had lain down sleepless, there was a knock at my door. I opened it, and Mr. Schatzell, one whose name was afterwards well known in Texas, entered. "New hope," said he. He then went on to explain his meaning. A project, which originated on the Mexican side of the sympathetic community, and was, I think, first started by Lojero, had ripened at the eleventh hour, and had been eagerly embraced by Schatzell and other wealthy American merchants. It was a new proposal to General Fernandez, with a condition. The proposal was, that an additional respite of twenty days should be granted to the prisoners, to give time for sending petitions for their pardon to the Government at Mexico, and to Santa Ana in Texas. The condition was, that if, *in consequence of that delay and those petitions*, the lives of the prisoners should be saved, twenty thousand dollars should be paid to the Mexican Government. Those who made the offer guaranteed the amount. The General knew them to be responsible; the Mexican gentlemen who backed the proposal had great weight with him; his own feelings were with them; and at a late hour he assented, and ordered the respite. Thus, for a third time, was averted the sword which hung over those men, each time by a more slender hair than the last. After hearing the news I slept.

On the following day petitions were prepared and signed in duplicate; one by the municipality, one by the prominent citizens and residents, and another by the ladies of the city, led by Lojero's wife. The petitions were dispatched by express; the two sets in the opposite directions before indicated. The amount stipulated was promptly subscribed. There was hardly a single foreign resident, however poor, who did not give something. Several of the leading American merchants and

prominent native residents entered their names for two thousand dollars each. When the second respite had nearly half run out, and before either of the petitions had been heard from, I one day met Lojero on the street with a beaming countenance, and he cried out "*Albrices!*" which means a reward for good news. "Your friends are safe," said he, "and through other means than our efforts and pledges," and he drew from his pocket and handed to me a printed paper, which I found to be a proclamation of amnesty from the Mexican Government. It reprieved all captured rebels not yet executed, and provided for their liberation and expulsion from the country. The author of it, I opine, "builded better than he knew" in the way of mercy. I have heard of a Spanish prime minister who in his last moments was exhorted by his confessor to forgive all his enemies. "Father," said the dying Christian, "I have none to forgive—I have had them all shot." The two cases were somewhat parallel; for though the decree was dated just before the prisoners in Matamoros were to have been executed, it was doubtless then believed by the Cabinet of Mexico that they were already disposed of. As it was, the delay secured by intercession saved them, but without the aid of our petitions, which were of later date than the amnesty, and consequently those who had subscribed for the ransom were released from their obligations. Lojero told me that the reprieve was already announced to the prisoners, and suggested to me to go and congratulate them; "for now," said he, "you will be allowed ready admittance and free conference." I went accordingly with a friend whom I then fell in with, and for the first time I had a long conversation with the men who had suffered such a lingering death of suspense. One of them told me that when they were formed in line to have the decree read to them, the officer of the guard, who held the paper in his hand, seemed under some strong feeling, and looked as pale as a corpse. They concluded that it was a new death warrant. The document alluded in more than one place to the capital penalty from which it relieved them, and as the officer read it with deep emotion, the word "muerte" (death) was the only one they understood. They were renerving themselves for their fate, when, after the reading was done, an interpreter, who stood ready, explained the meaning of what had been read. The emotion of that officer speaks well for his sensibility. The prisoners had prepared to meet their doom with firmness, and the letters they wrote as their last were heroic. But now they showed no exuberance of joy; for the same voice which announced their reprieve told them their cause was crushed, and their adopted

country wholly subjugated. We were unable to contradict the dreary intelligence, for it was what everybody in the city then believed. The news they said was almost like a renewal of their sentence.

To those who have been impressed only with the evil traits so often found in the Mexican character, the good of which this narrative shows them capable need not seem anomalous, for the lower we explore the stages of social development, the more, to use a common expression, do we find character in streaks. Not only are good and bad individuals found in closer proximity, but the noble and ignoble more mingled in the same heart, and both virtuous and depraved action more spasmodic. In every stage of that kind would Dean Stanley find an ample field for a new and admirable analysis of the duality of human nature.

As Texas is bound to remember with gratitude the friends whom her adopted sons found in an alien and hostile race, I will say a word more about the two I have mentioned by name, and placed in prominence. Don Francisco Lojero was distinguished among the minor leaders of the Mexican Revolution, and in one of the provisional governments of that era filled the office of Secretary of War. His wife was the daughter of General Allende, one of the most illustrious chiefs in that contest. The daughter is worthy of a hero who gave his life to his country.

It was I think about ten days after the announcement of the reprieve that news of the defeat of Santa Ana at San Jacinto, and his subsequent capture, became public in Matamoros. It was in possession of the military authorities three days before it leaked out, and then it spread as rapidly as if proclaimed from the house-top, and with unusual correctness of detail, for the totality of defeat by an inferior force was not concealed. The joy it caused among the foreign residents can hardly be described, but the rapture it brought to the prisoners is unspeakable. Not till then did they fully appreciate the boon of their reprieve. Their liberation, though pledged, was long in coming.

Then came the retreat of the Mexican army, under the command of Urrea, now a full Brigadier, who superseded Filizoli after the truce made by the latter with Houston had been repudiated by the Government of Mexico. Filizoli had permitted two Texan Commissioners, Captains Karnes and Teal, to proceed to Matamoros with their orderlies to attend to the fulfilment of certain stipulations of the truce, but that agreement being now ignored, Urrea caused the envoys to be arrested. The two soldiers were put into the barracks with the rest of

the Texan prisoners; but the two captains being confined, with a special guard, in quarters they were permitted to hire, found means to escape after three or four months imprisonment. The adventures of their mission, their expedients for sending information to Texas, the letters they inclosed in the handle of their courier's whip, the injudicious character of those letters, the murderous indiscretion of their friends in Texas, which allowed those letters to come back to Urrea in a New Orleans newspaper, thus compromising their friends in Matamoros, and finally their well-devised escape and thrilling adventures in making it; all these things related in detail would form an interesting romance, which, though without the spice of tragedy, would not be wholly free from farce, but to do justice to all the incidents would make this article too volumninous. I therefore confine myself to the story of that group of prisoners whose fortunes I have thus far traced.

The decree of amnesty, as I have said, provided for the liberation and embarkation of all prisoners which it relieved from the death penalty. General Fernandez, being a local commander, did not feel authorized to carry out those provisions without special orders. He had been relieved after Urrea's return, and the latter, though possessed of ample authority, was not disposed to make a benign or just use of it. Smarting under the failure of the campaign in which he had been engaged, he felt less considerate towards those prisoners than when he first captured them; and as there were some hundreds of Mexican prisoners in Texas, he probably thought it advisable to keep hold of a small handful of flesh and blood, on which he might, if needful, make reprisals. Soon after he took command in Matamoros he caused the Texan prisoners, still fed by charity, to be employed in sweeping the streets; and though they had not before had any degrading labor imposed on them, they were kept to this servitude as long as their captivity lasted, and while engaged in it, if they happened to be under the supervision of a brutal guard officer, were at times treated with cruel indignity. This roused anew the sympathy of the ladies of the place, who would sometimes come out and warn the officer to leave their part of the sidewalk untouched, as they would sooner sweep it themselves than have it done for them by the poor prisoners. It was Urrea who initiated this indignity; but let the whole truth be told. He did it in retaliation for a greater piece of brutality, for which Texas will ever blush, though she disclaims its reproach as an exceptional blot, and a merely individual infamy. When Captain Brown of the Invincible captured and carried into Galveston harbor as a prize the brig Pocket, she had on

board three Mexican officers, who had taken passage on her from New Orleans to Matamoros. They were detained as prisoners of war, and transferred for custody to the Texan armed schooner Brutus, Captain Hurd. They were Captain Ocampo, another infantry captain, and an engineer named Hogan, a naturalized Irishman. In Hogan's trunk were found papers, containing some military suggestions and plans for fortified works in Texas, addressed to Santa Ana. All three had been on duty in Texas before the war, and Hogan had resided there as a civilian a short time before he took service. Putting all the circumstances together, Hurd made out their case to be that of malignants, plotting against the country where they had once lived. He wanted to retaliate Mexican cruelty anyhow, and not feeling that he had authority to shoot them, he ordered them to be flogged. Accordingly Ocampo and Hogan, the latter an old man of sixty or more, were, one after the other, cruelly scourged, and the other officer was about being put through the same torture, when Captain Brown, then the ranking officer of the flotilla, came on board, and indignantly put an end to the outrage. Hurd had been raised to his present position by a distinction that was rather accidental. He had been a respectable skipper; no one from ordinary intercourse would take him to be a ruffian, or anything else in particular; and I think that in this matter he may have been under the influence of associates lower than himself.

In August, when I thought Urrea's mind had become sufficiently unruffled for a tolerably candid view of matters, I drew up for the prisoners a petition in Spanish, asking for the liberation to which the decree of amnesty entitled them. They signed it, and I sent it to the General. I did not present it in person, nor seek an interview, which I knew would not aid the supplication; for Urrea, owing to the interest I had taken in the prisoners, or from some other cause, suspected me of having corresponded with the rebels and aided prisoners to escape. As Grant's men had been taken under the flag of 1824, their memorial appealed to him as men whose cause had died with their leader on the day of their captivity; as soldiers whom his own arms had conquered; as captives, whose lives his clemency had spared when higher authority demanded their blood. The appeal was made in vain. Urrea made no response to the petition, nor did I ever learn in what kind of temper he received it.

We learned, some time after, that General Bravo had been, or would soon be assigned to the command of the army at Matamoros, with which the Mexican Government hoped, ere long, to recommence opera-

tions against Texas. He consented to take the command only on condition that a certain amount of force and means, which he deemed indispensable, should be placed at his disposal, and that a course compatible with the rules of civilized warfare should be observed. Both conditions were agreed to, but the event proved that the crippled government could not carry out its promise in regard to men and resources. Every one acquainted with the history of the Mexican Revolution, will remember the act which ennobled the life of Don Nicholas Bravo. During that struggle, when his father and himself both had commands in the field, the former was captured. It was a time when no mercy was shown by Spaniards to rebels. The younger Bravo knew that his father's fate was sealed, and that no threat of retaliation would save him, though the son had a number of Spanish prisoners in his hands. He immediately liberated those prisoners, saying he would not trust himself with the temptation to make a bloody reprisal. After his prisoners were beyond his reach he heard of his father's execution. From the high opinion I had ever held of General Bravo, I indulged strong hopes that, so soon as he should take command, he would deal justly with the prisoners, and give them the liberty which a public decree had pledged, and I advised them not to risk attempts at escape till the soundness of this hope had been tested. But the expected liberator did not come as soon as expected. At some time in the fall Urrea was relieved by General Amador; but as the new commander seemed a man of mere negative good qualities, and had only a temporary assignment, I knew that he would take no new action toward the prisoners, and made no attempt to obtain it.

General Bravo did not arrive till January, 1837. Before this time a slight change had occurred in the original number of the prisoners. Two out of the seven Mexicans of San Antonio, named Arriola and Zembrano, had been liberated early, before Fernandez's order for execution was issued. Their friends had brought some influence to bear on Santa Ana while he was at their native place, which plead effectively. The young Irishman, Mitchell, escaped soon after the reprieve, and later in the season two of the Americans, Brown and Mac Neely, also escaped. All of those succeeded in reaching Texas. Still later, another got away from the barrack and across the river, but was overtaken and brought back. Thus five of the original twenty-one were gone, but the two orderlies of Karnes and Teal had been added to the remainder, making the number eighteen.

As soon as General Bravo arrived I prepared a new petition. I at

first proposed to write it in Spanish, and submit it to a Cuban gentleman, who lived at Matamoros, for any correction it might need. "No," said he. "Do not hamper your ideas with a language not your own, but put your document into your best English, and I will engage to give it equal force in Spanish." His advice was good, and he did not overrate his own ability as a translator from my language to his, for he was the best I ever knew. Having made a good copy of the Spanish version, I got it signed by the prisoners, and so soon as the new General was well settled in his seat, I delivered the document into his own hand. It stated that the petitioners were the first taken and the last retained of all the prisoners made in the late campaign; that they had seen the sword three times suspended over them, when it was averted by the decree of amnesty; that they had petitioned General Urrea in vain for the liberation which that decree had pledged to all whom it relieved from the penalty of death; and that they supplicated from the General now in command the boon before denied. The closing appeal was in the English original, as follows: "Appealing to that heart which has known the agony of a father's martyrdom, and trusting in the generosity which refused to retaliate so cruel a blow, we call on your Excellency to consider the woes of our own parents and kindred, who have long bewailed us as dead, and would now view our reappearance among them as a return from the tomb. For the sake, not of us, but of those beloved mourners, grant that we may behold them again, and their prayers shall call down Heaven's choicest blessing on the head of the *magnanimous* Bravo."

When I presented this petition I got my first view of the tall, stately figure of Bravo, with what might be called a Spanish version of Washington's face. He motioned me to a seat, and taking another himself, proceeded to read with apparent close attention the paper I had handed him. How intently did I watch his manly, impassable features as he read down one page, and turned to another, till he came to the end. His face told nothing, but I thought or imagined there was a slightly longer breath when he came to the line which alluded to his father. Having finished the slow reading, he as deliberately refolded the paper, and turning to me said: "This is Tuesday. I will answer this communication on Thursday." On Thursday I again called, and in reply to my inquiry he said: "I have reported on this matter to the Government." My hopes sank. "When," inquired I, "may an answer be expected from the Government?" "Perhaps," said he, "in twelve days." My hopes did not rise. It was only three or four days after

the second interview that, when I had lain down for a siesta, a friend bolted into my room, and cried out, "The prisoners are free!" I said "let me see and I will believe." I went to the door, and the liberated men came flocking around me. Bravo, I have no doubt, had determined when he first read the petition to liberate the prisoners, if he found that their memorial gave a correct statement of facts, and his report to the Government probably stated that intent. The friends of the prisoners in the course of a week or two enabled them to secure passages to New Orleans; and with the end of their imprisonment and exile my narrative closes.

R. M. POTTER

GENERAL BRAVO, VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE MEXICAN CONFEDERATION.

A NEW AND AN ANCIENT MAP OF YUCATAN

A map published in Paris, with the recent date of 1878, and representing the peninsula of Yucatan, must claim earnest attention in geographical circles. This map is somewhat of a novelty, but nevertheless a welcome and instructive novelty. It helps to fill a gap which has always existed. There is scarcely anything known of this region of the Central American isthmus beyond what relates to its coast-lines, its bold jutting out towards the island of Cuba, the position of Cape Catoche as opposite to that of San Antonio de Cuba, and the channel between these capes, through which the current of the Gulf Stream forces its way from the Caribbean Sea into the Mexican basin. Only a few and very vague indications of the physical features and the political division of the interior of this peninsula are found even in our most commendable maps, all of which give the impression of a country that still remains an open field for all kind of exploration. Literary and scientific authorities also fail to give satisfaction respecting details. The little which is given has a certain flavor of hearsay, gathered and put together in order that the subject of Yucatan may not appear to be forgotten.

We read, for instance, that this peninsula is composed geologically of a single block, built up by calcareous strata. Its surfaces rise only a few feet above the surrounding waters. It presents no mountain ranges, and is as flat as the palm of the hand. No brook, no river bathes the gigantic trees; the luxuriant tropical vegetation feeding apparently but upon the moisture exhaled from the sea. There are rivers however, but these rivers run in invisible subterranean channels, and at a distance from the northern shore the fresh water bursts out amidst the salty surroundings, so that the manati, the heron, the fishermen in their canoes resort to the spot and slack their thirst. The inhabitants are described as Indians who are on the point of succeeding in reconquering their native soil from the Spaniards, by whom they were originally dispossessed. The Spaniards, when they landed on the shores in 1517, were told by the indigenous race that white and bearded people had come thither from the distant east, built houses, temples, palaces and cities, and ruled the country for more than a thousand years. The ruins of these ancient edifices indeed exist. They were discovered in the first decennial of our century, and the groundwork as well as the

detail of their architectual style, has a surprising resemblance to that of oriental Babylon and Egypt. Such are some of the notions respecting Yucatan. If this be all of it, we cannot but say that our knowledge of this peninsula is still enveloped in mist. But suggestions appear of problems still to be solved in all lines of geographical and historical research. The more, therefore, our scientific public shall be reminded of the existence of this area of 70,000 square miles, by works as original as this new map, the more these vague current notions concerning Yucatan will grow into well-formulated problems, and finally into solid and acceptable instruction.

We understand that the map is the work of experts, and persons born and living on the soil of Yucatan itself. Its composition has grown out of a large amount of data, given by engineers who made surveys either for the Government or for owners of vast estates; by military officers, who in their expeditions against the Indians laid down the lines of their marches; and by foreign travelers and scientists, who in the interest of their special pursuits revised former data, and rectified them by means of more correct methods of observation. A special commission performed the labor of examining and selecting the material used in the formation of the map, which was reduced to a common scale, adapted to such astronomical positions of the main cities as were known, and especially to that frame of the coast line which is laid down and published in the mss. sheets of the Hydrographical Bureau at Washington.

A map thus presented should not be underrated on account of the comparatively rudimentary studies to which it owes its origin. The most of the charts, if not all, existing of Spanish America were composed, and could not but be composed by similar proceedings and methods. It will be remembered of course that this map is the first step ever made to represent the interior of Yucatan by persons whom we may recognize as competent judges of the distances, position and classification of its cities, towns, villages, the spots of the ancient ruins, the correct spelling of their strange names, its departmental division and statistics of population. We admire the zeal with which this arduous work has been commenced, continued, and as we hear, completed under the greatest difficulties. The Yucatan Government has introduced the map into all the schools of the country. There is no doubt but that it will attract the attention of future cartographers, and the gross errors, now found on all maps of Yucatan, will be corrected in accordance to this new and reliable standard.

This much for the new map of Yucatan. Let us add a few words on an ancient map, probably the first ever made of this peninsula. When the Spanish conquerors discovered Yucatan, they were told by the inhabitants that the country was an island. This was one of the principal reasons why Cortes, after the fall of Mexico in 1527, resolved to go upon his unsuccessful expedition to Honduras. His expectation was to find Honduras to be separated from the island of Yucatan by a supposed imaginary strait, which would convey him toward the Pacific; but the strait turned out to be nothing more than a deep indentation of the coast, the Golfo Dulce, and the island a broad peninsula. Cortes' misconception is now proved to have originated from the poverty of the Maya vocabulary, which has no word descriptive of "peninsula." It employs the word "peten" promiscuously for both island and peninsula. The cartographers nearest to the epoch of the conquest are therefore fairly excused for having represented Yucatan as an island torn off from the Mexican main. Thus it appears on the globe of Orontuis Fines, 1531, on the globe of Ulpius, 1542, on that of St. Marks, Venice, 1548. These cosmographers had their information from exclusively Spanish sources.

There is, however, one map in existence, which is of Portuguese origin, upon which Yucatan appears as a peninsula. This map is preserved in the Munich Military Library, and Mr. Runstmann, an expert in mediaeval cartography, calls it "a part of a Portuguese Portulano," and gives it, he does not say on what grounds, the surprisingly early date of 1514. If he is correct in this statement, it would prove that the Portuguese were not only acquainted with the peninsula form previous to the Spaniards, but that this country must have been discovered, and the details of its coast-lines explored and mapped down, long before the Castilians pretended, and as it is generally accepted up to the present day.

The doubts excited by the inspection of this rare specimen of Portuguese cartography led us to glance at those maps of the New Western World, which are known to have been published before the aforesaid date of 1514. We count five of them. First, that of the Ptolemy, of 1513; second, the so-called Petrus Martyr map of 1511; third, that of Bernardus Sylvanus, 1511; fourth, the Ruysch Ptolemy of 1508, and last, the map of Juan de la Cosa, 1500. Only *two* of these maps, the two editions of Ptolemy, will become of interest, *if viewing this subject under the impression* that the Portuguse might possibly have navigated the coasts of Yucatan previous to the Spaniards. It will be

seen that both these maps exhibit opposite to Cuba, in a near west, a certain portion of land, triangular in form, which bears no proper name, but the coast of which is studded with a series of names. The number of these names in the Ptolemy edition of 1508 is seven. They are given in Latin, and the western side of this triangular land is closed by a ribbon, upon which a legend is written in the same language. In the edition of 1513 the names are nineteen in number; they are written in Portuguese, and the legend is left out. Notwithstanding these differences, it will be found that these two drawings represent the same land, and that they were copied from a common original; for on a closer inspection, the names put down in the edition of 1508 will be recognized as a Latinized version of the names appearing in the Ptolemy of 1513, the editor of which took care to put them down in their original form in Portuguse. Various of these names, however, are not quite legible. They appear in an abbreviated form, and must have been found so either by the copyist on the original itself, or been maimed by him, perhaps also by the printer. Attempts to restore these names have been undertaken, but without success, and the opinion is prevailing that this western portion of the New World was intended by the Ptolemy cartographers to represent that portion of the island of Cuba which had been discovered by Christopher Columbus in his two first voyages.

If this opinion be correct, it is clear that the set of those names which are still legible, and convey a full geographical meaning, ought necessarily to belong to the named island. But this is not so. They widely differ from the names given by Columbus to the Cuban shores in his official reports, and so also from those put down by Juan de la Cosa on his map of Cuba, A. D. 1500. On closer study of this little cartographical puzzle, the shores as well as the names of this Antillan west-end will turn out to represent a fragmentary map, which shows the *eastern* and the *northern* coast of the peninsula of *Yucatan*. We intend to bring out this point in an article specially devoted to this subject. It will be demonstrated, with the necessary illustrations, that the editors of the Ptolemy map, 1518, unacquainted as they were with the *north of a certain sketch* which they had received for publication, and which showed land discovered in the near west of Cuba, failed in giving the shores of this land the position which it actually and in nature requires. Had the editors delineated the southern shores as facing toward the east, and the eastern toward the north, the mysterious block of land would have long ago been recognized to represent that which it was

intended to mean, namely, the two named coasts of the peninsula of Yucatan. This map will not only be found to exhibit true Yucatan names, but if compared with the new Yucatan map, also the bays, the capes, the rivers and hills of the same peninsula, in their natural position and succession. As for the author of this sketch, it will be proved to the highest point of probability that it was Amerigo Vespucci, who prepared it as a result of his first voyage (10th of May, 1497—15th of October, 1498). Due reference will be made to help gained from our examination of M. de Varnhagen's treatise, Am. Vespucci, son caractère, ses écrits, sa vie et ses navigations, Lima, 1865, and Oscar Peschel's note 2, page 235, Geschichte der Erdkunde, Munchen, 1865. The former succeeded in presenting full literary evidence of a first navigation made by Amerigo Vespucci towards the Honduras and Yucatan coasts in the year 1479, while the other sagaciously suggested that the authorship of the Ptolemy map of 1573 should be assigned to Amerigo Vespucci, because of two errors in print, which appear with the same wrong spelling on this map, and the text of Vespucci's Navigazioni.

Should the new evidence, which we intend to bring forward for the authenticity of the Vespucci map, find acceptation, the long entertained issue, whether our continent ought to bear the name of the Florentine or the Genoese, must necessarily be decided in favor of the former. Columbus touched our continent in Paria on the 31st of July, 1498; Vespucci, fourteen months earlier, on the Honduras shores, on the 10th of May, 1497. Whether, however, Cabot might not have discovered the American shores still earlier than Vespucci, is a question which does not fall within the province of our research.

PH. VALENTINI

NOTE.—The new map to which Mr. Valentini alludes is entitled, "Mapa de la Peninsula de Yucatan Comprendiendo los Estados de Yucatan y Campeche compilado por Joaquin Hübbe y Andres Azuar Perez y revisado y aumentado con datos importantes por C. Herman Berendt, 1873." [27 by 37 inches.] EDITOR

LETTERS OF DE FERSEN

AID-DE-CAMP TO ROCHAMBEAU

WRITTEN TO HIS FATHER IN SWEDEN

1780–1782

Translated for the Magazine from Baron de Klinckowström's Count de Fersen Paris—1878

I

Paris, 2d March, 1780

Here I am, my dear father, at the height of my ambition. A great expedition of 12,000 men is being organized, but I am assured it will be raised to 20,000. I have obtained permission to join it as aid-de-camp to the General, who is M. de Rochambeau; but secrecy has been strongly pressed upon me, as it has been refused to many others. Every body wishes to join it, but a firm resolution has been adopted to send to it only such officers as belong to the marching regiments. I owe my appointment to M. de Vergennes. He undertook to procure it for me. I am in a state of delight I can hardly express.

When I spoke to M. de Rochambeau, he said a thousand kind things to me, and talked to me long of you, my father; he ended by saying that he would be delighted to have me near him, and to show you how much he esteems you, and how sincerely he is attached to you. The generals with him are the Marquis de Jancourt, the Count de Caraman and the Marquis de Viomesnil; the last two have considerable reputation; that of M. de Rochambeau is made. It is on the whole the best choice that could have been made. There are three German regiments, *Anhalt, Royal Deux-Ponts* and *Royal Corse.* I have not been able to see the list of French regiments, but the Colonels have been ordered to appear at Brest on the 15th, and the rest of us the 25th, in order to leave from the 1st to the 4th of April. The convoy will be escorted by twelve vessels and a sufficient number of Frigates. Our fleet will be commanded by M. Duchaffaud, and the Count d'Estaing is to command the fleet of observation, which will remain this year in the Channel. The navy will burst with spite, but I think it for the best.

Brest, 4th April, 1780

Our embarkation progresses; the artillery, munitions of war and provisions are already embarked, and now that of the troops is being carried on. The first regiment arrived to-day, and all will be embarked on the 8th. M. de Rochambeau wishes to be in the roadstead on the 10th, so as to sail on the 12th or the 13th. I can not tell you how delighted I am, but my happiness will be only complete when we are at Cape Finistère. I wrote you, my dear father, that our division, for it can hardly yet be called an army, was of 7,683 men. It is now reduced to 5,000 by the negligence and incompetency which attend every thing now in this country. You can judge; when this expedition, which was then fixed at 4,000 men, was first talked of, M. de Rochambeau refused to take charge of it in consequence of the small number of troops, and said that he would not accept the command unless there were 7,000 men. At that time every body blamed him for his moderation; he re-

plied then that he was sure to have more than he could carry with him. The result has justified him, for in place of 30,000 tons, which M. de Sartines had promised him, he only found in all the transports gotten together at Brest 12,000 tons; as each man is estimated to require two tons, this makes only the third. However, by dint of management we have found means to leave only 2,595 men behind, and take with us 5088. We are all in despair at this, and can not help being surprised and indignant that care had not been taken to bring over the vessels from Havre and Saint-Malo to Brest during the winter instead of waiting for spring, when the Jersey privateers prevent any communication between these three ports, as is now the case; 10 or 12 large vessels were counted upon from Havre or Saint-Malo, which were obliged to return at full speed for fear of capture, and Bordeaux has been written to for others; but if they do not arrive by the 12th of this month, we shall nevertheless leave, and the rest of our little army will join us as soon as it can. I have reason to believe that it will be increased 4,000 men, which is very necessary.

We have four general officers; M. le Chevalier de Châtellux, the Chevalier and the Baron de Viomesnil, two brothers, and M. de Wicktenstein, formerly Colonel of the regiment of Anhalt; all these four are Maréchaux de Camp. We take a great deal of artillery, the siege train being very heavy. We have provisions for four months at sea and four months on land. We will be escorted by seven ships of the line: *The Duc de Bourgogne* of 80 guns, the *Neptune* of 74, the *Conquérant* of 74, the *Jason* of 64, the *Eveillé* of 64, the *Provence* of 64, the *Ardent* of 64; this is the ship which was captured from the English last year, and two frigates. The convoy is of 24 vessels. I do not yet know on what vessel I shall be; the general goes on board the *Duc de Bourgogne*, and has with him his old aid-de-camp; there is no room there for any more, but I am sure to be on a ship of war.

At Sea, 16th May (Monday), on board the *Jason*, latitude of Finistère

I have only time to write you two words, to tell you that I am well; I have not suffered at all from the sea. We have already had heavy weather, in which one of our vessels was dismasted. The wind is favorable, and I believe that in forty days we shall be in America. We have just seen a large vessel a great distance off; it is not known whether she is a friend or foe. I have no time to write more.

Newport, R. I., 5th Aug., 1780

The letter I wrote you the 16th July, which returned to Newport the 23d, because of the appearance of the English fleet, is now at the bottom of the ocean; it was lost as it left the harbor the 30th July; she struck on a rock. I sent you an account of the naval combat we had, and a plan, as also a little journal of the voyage. I have not the time to rewrite an account of the battle, and to draw the plan of it; as for the journal, here it is:

Left Brest the 4th (May); caught in a gale in the Gulf of Gascony the 11th; the 16th or 17th doubled Cape Finistère, as far down as the 27th degree of

latitude, then steered to the west; the 20th June, crossing the Bermudas, met five English vessels and a frigate; we fought them for two hours without receiving any damage of consequence. We intended to have made land in Chesapeake Bay; but the 4th, when we were not more than 15 leagues distant, we saw 11 vessels which we took to be men-of-war, which led us to change our course, and to steer for Rhode Island, where we arrived safely the evening of the 11th, and came to anchor in the roadstead at 6 o'clock in the evening. It was not without serious fears that we should meet the English that we made the crossing from Chesapeake to this point; they were well founded, for Admiral Graves, who left England to overtake us and bring us to action, if it were possible, arrived at New York the 13th, took in fresh seamen, and appeared before our harbor the 17th. If he had arrived before us he would have occupied Rhode Island, and we could only have entered after a battle, in which we would have, in any event, have lost our convoy, whatever other advantage we might have gained.

I can tell you nothing about our campaign. I know nothing. We hope to join General Washington, who is only 25 miles from New York, because we believe this to be the only way for us to operate and accomplish anything. I do not know if this junction can be effected. Meanwhile we are blockaded by twenty sail, of which ten ships-of-the-line; they approach the coast very nearly every day. It is not believed anything will come of it; such is my opinion. We are every moment in expectation of General Clinton, who has embarked at New York with 10,000 men; we are ready to receive him; our preparations all made. I hope he may come, but I can hardly believe he will commit such an act of folly.

Newport, 8th September, 1780

Nothing has happened since my last. We have not left our island; we occupy, undisturbed and in the best of order, an extremely healthy camp, admirably chosen and perfectly entrenched, the works of which are not yet finished; we are working at them. The strictest discipline is observed; nothing is taken from the inhabitants except with their full consent and for cash; there has not yet been a single complaint against the troops. This discipline is admirable. It astonishes the inhabitants, who are accustomed to be pillaged by the English and by their own troops. The most entire confidence and the greatest harmony exists between the two nations. If this be sufficient to ensure the success of the expedition, we are certain of its success.

For the last four or five days we have not been blockaded; it is not known whither this fleet has gone; we are every moment looking for news from Jamaica; if it is taken I fear we shall not have much to do here. General Clinton, who commanded at New York, remains at Long Island with 20,000 men; he has gathered a great supply of wood and provisions. He seems determined to pass the winter there. I fear we shall pass ours here. I shall be consoled, however, if we open the campaign in the spring. Our army is in the best

possible condition. Officers and men are perfectly disposed and ready for the common cause. Now and then some little annoyances occur; that is inevitable, but the order and discipline maintained is admirable, particularly for a French army; this proves that they only need a good commander. We have not yet begun to manoeuvre, but shall in a few days.

You know the French, my dear father, and what are called the Court people (*gens de la cour*), sufficiently to understand their despair at being obliged to pass the winter quietly at Newport, far from their mistresses and the pleasures of Paris; no suppers, no theatres, no balls; they are in despair; only an order to march upon the enemy will console them. We had some extreme heat here during August; I have never felt anything like it in Italy. Now the air is cooler, the climate superb and the country charming. We were on the mainland about eight days ago with the General. I was the only one of his aids who accompanied him. We remained ten days, and saw the finest country imaginable, the inhabitants well-to-do, but without luxury or display; they are content with the simple necessaries of life which, in other countries are left to the lower class; their clothing is simple but good, and their habits have not yet been spoiled by European luxury. This country will be happy if it enjoy a long peace, and if the two parties which at present divide it do not bring it to the fate of Poland and of so many other republics. These two parties are called the *whigs* and the *tories*. The first is wholly for liberty and independence; it is made up of people of the lowest birth and no property; the greater part of those who live in the interior of the country belong to it. The *tories* are for the English, or it is more correct to say for peace, not caring much whether they are free or dependent; they belong to a higher class, and alone possess any property in the country. Some have relatives and lands in England; others, to preserve those which they had in the country, embraced the English cause, which was the stronger. When the whigs are the stronger they pillage the others to the best of their ability. This is nursing a hatred and animosity between them which will be extinguished with difficulty, and remain the source of a thousand troubles.

Newport, 14th September, 1780

I have neither any very interesting or very good news to send you; there is one quite distressing for us, that of the defeat of General Gates, by Lord Cornwallis, in South Carolina the 10th August. The American general advanced imprudently; he was attacked, half of his troops were killed, the rest captured; only he and his aid-de-camp were saved. We have as yet no details of the affair. Count Rochambeau had the news by an express which arrived the day before yesterday, but he has not yet made it public; he does not speak of it, nevertheless the whole town knows it. An American, with whom I conversed this morning, said he had seen a letter addressed to a member of the Council, in which was the information that the militia, under the orders of General Gates, had all passed over to the Eng-

lish at the beginning of the action. If this be true what dependence can be placed on such troops, and is not a brave man to be pitied who commands such men? This, my dear father, in our present situation is not encouraging. It is to be hoped that it will change on the arrival of the second division, which we are all waiting for with the greatest impatience. The Newport garrison begins to grow very sad.

Newport, 16th October, 1780

This, my dear father, is the first sure opportunity I have had of writing you for a long time. I am certain that it will reach you and be handed to you unread; it will go by a frigate which M. de Rochambeau is about to send to France. The Duke de Lauzun sends one of his people and undertakes to have my letters delivered to Count de Creutz, to whom I write by the same opportunity. An officer is to go to France by this frigate to explain the state and position of this army and of our dear allies, both of which are bad enough. It is not known who will be entrusted with this commission; every body says it will be myself; many of the general officers, M. de Châtellux and Baron de Vioménil, have spoken of me as one who could perfectly answer the wishes of the General in this regard. I do not know what the end will be, but I shall take no step to obtain it, and shall not refuse it if it be offered me. But I would prefer not to be charged with such a disagreeable business. Something of interest might happen in my absence and I should be in despair not to have a hand in it.

Our position here is very disagreeable. We are vegetating within reach of the enemy in the saddest and most frightful laziness and inaction, and are obliged, because of our small numbers, to the fatiguing part of defense; we are of no use to our allies; we cannot leave our island without exposing our fleet to capture or destruction; our fleet cannot go out without sacrificing us to the enemy who, with his superiority in ships and men, would not hesitate to attack us and cut off our retreat from the mainland. There are all the while the English ships, large and small, who watch us from a short distance; we dare not go out to meet them, for they have ships perpetually on the station at Gardner's Island, twenty miles to the southwest, and the English fleet of 15 to 20 sail is nearly always in sight. So long as we are not stronger we must remain in our present position, that is, unless we adopt the plan of sending back the fleet and giving up Rhode Island to the English. One will always follow the other. So far from being of service to the Americans, we are a burthen to them; we do not reinforce their army, because we are twelve days march from it, separated by arms of the sea, which cannot be passed when they are blocked with ice. We are even a burthen, because by increasing consumption we heighten the price of supplies, and by paying hard money bring paper into discredit, and thus deprive Washington's army of its facility of obtaining subsistence, which is refused for paper. Our condition is not better than our position; we only brought with us two million six hundred thousand

livres of which one half in hard money and the rest in bills of exchange on a banker in Philadelphia, M. Holcker. We should have brought twice that amount. This want of specie while with a nation, where it is always necessary to have cash in hand, compels us to exercise great economy where magnificence and profusion are necessary. This ruins our credit. The supply of forage has been neglected, and left to the care of an intendent, who has relied upon contractors; they have not taken a military view of the situation, but have only consulted their own interest, and instead of holding in reserve the forage of the island and for thirty or forty miles around, which was of easy transport, they consumed them in the first place, and kept for the winter that further distant. God knows how we shall obtain any; we have already been twice without forage, and for two days obliged to purchase each what he could find.

The generals do not agree among themselves. The whole army is discouraged at remaining so long without doing anything. The second division does not arrive; without it we shall do nothing, or at least nothing of consequence. M. de Rochambeau sends to France to give an account of his situation, and to demand reinforcements of men as well as money. We shall see what will come of it.

I was about fifteen days ago at Hartford, forty leagues distant from here, with M. de Rochambeau. We were only six, the Admiral, his Chief of Engineers, his son, the Vicomte de Rochambeau, and two aids-de-camp, of whom I was one. He had an interview there with General Washington. M. de Rochambeau sent me in advance to announce his arrival, and I had time to see this man, illustrious, if not unique in our century. His handsome and majestic, while at the same time mild and open countenance perfectly reflects his moral qualities; he looks the hero; he is very cold; speaks little, but is courteous and frank. A shade of sadness overshadows his countenance, which is not unbecoming, and gives him an interesting air. His suite was more numerous than ours. The Marquis de Lafayette, General Knox, Chief of Artillery, M. de Gouvion, a Frenchman, Chief of Engineers, and six aids-de-camp, accompanied him. He had besides an escort of 22 dragoons, which was necessary, as he passed through a country full of enemies. As there is no travelling by posting in this country, every one must journey with his own horses, and nearly always on horseback, because of the bad roads. However every body was in carriages, except our two aids-de-camp. We were three days making the journey. General Washington as many. On the way we learned the arrival of Rodney at New York; nevertheless we continued our journey. The two Generals and the Admiral were closeted together the whole of the day we passed at Hartford. The Marquis de Lafayette was called in as an interpreter, as Washington does not either speak French or understand it. They separated mutually pleased with each other; at least they say so. It was on leaving there that General Washington discovered the treason of General Arnold, one of the best they have, who has been twice shot through

the body, and has always behaved well. He had been gained over by General Clinton, and was to have given up West Point, where he was in command. Major André, first aid-de-camp to General Clinton, had arrived, disguised as a countryman, to examine the fortifications, and to agree upon the manner in which they should be attacked, and how General Arnold should be out of the way so as not to excite any suspicion. There was a frigate waiting on the Hudson River, whose boat was to meet him at a given place. All being arranged with General Arnold, Major André goes to find the boat, but does not find it. The frigate had been forced to take another position by the cannon of West Point, which fired upon it, and was two leagues lower down. Major André, ignorant of this, undertook to return to New York by land; he was stopped by a party of countrymen, who were making careful patrols because General Washington was on the road. He (André) shows them the passport of General Arnold; they doubting its authenticity, notwithstanding all the offers he made them, took him to the army. At the same time Washington arrives at West Point; he sends two of his aids-de-camp to General Arnold to invite him to dine with him, and goes in person to visit the forts. The aids-de-camp find him at breakfast with his wife. A moment after they had seated themselves a person comes in who whispers a word in the ear of the General, who rises and says a word in an undertone to his wife; this word was: "*Good bye forever*"—and goes out. The wife falls in a swoon. The aids-de-camp assist her without understanding the meaning of the scene; and some minutes after arrives the courier who brings the news to General Washington. The traitor is pursued, but it is too late. If the English had succeeded in getting possession of this post, they were the masters of the whole of the Hudson River; they would have stopped all communication and junction between our army and that of the Americans, unless by a long detour, and Washington, who is encamped at Orange-town, between West Point and New York, would have found himself between two fires, and have inevitably been destroyed before we could have come up to his assistance; perhaps it would have been all over for America, and we should have had the mortification of having arrived here only to witness the complete ruin of our allies and to still further to ensure their dependence by the discouragement this would have occasioned. Our position would not have been better, for the English, having nothing further to fear from the Americans, would have turned all their forces upon us, and we are not in sufficient strength to resist them. Fortunately the blow was averted. It is said that Major André has been hanged; it is a pity; he was a youth of twenty-four and full of talent. The General has no news of it. I hope it may prove false.

I have already informed you, my dear father, that I am extremely intimate with the Duc de Lauzun. Opinions are very much divided concerning him. You will hear good and bad reports of him. The first are right, the second are wrong. If those who say them

knew him, they would change their minds, and do justice to his heart. He has taken a friendship for me, and proposes to me in the frankest way imaginable to accept the place of Colonel commanding of his legion, which is vacant, and in a year he proposes to cede me the proprietorship of it as he desires to retire from the service. His legion consists of 1,000 infantry, 500 hussars and some small pieces of artillery. The proposition is too agreeable and advantageous for me to refuse; it will be doubly pleasant to me. The Duc de Lauzun writes on the subject to the Queen, who is full of kindness for him; she has a little for me. I wrote to her also, and hope that by the Frigate which will bring the reply to the letters it takes over I may receive my brevet. Lauzun assures me that there can be no difficulty about it.

Newport, the 18th [October] 1780

You have already heard of the defeat of General Gates in the southern country. I sent you word of it. Congress has recalled him to Philadelphia, and has given command of his corps to General Green. He is suspected, for he is on the closest relations with Arnold. It appears that his desertion had no consequences. Everything is quiet. At New York ten battalions of grenadiers and chasseurs, with detachments of other regiments of the army to the number of 4,000, have been embarked; they are for the south of America. A fleet has just arrived at New York from Cork, in Ireland, laden with supplies, of which they were beginning to be in great need; this fleet has brought 4,000 recruits, English and Hessians together. What a war for the English, who are compelled to bring everything over, even to their provisions! This power must have great resources to have sustained it so long.

Newport, 13th November, 1780

The frigate which carried our letters left the 28th of last month. The 27th we saw a fleet of 13 sail of men-of-war, but not seeing it the next day, and receiving word that it had stood to the eastward, three of our frigates went out; the destination of the two others is not known. Otherwise we have no news. We think that M. de Guichen has returned to Europe.

The Arnold affair had no consequences. Poor Major André, a young man of 28 years, of the highest expectations, the friend of General Clinton, has been hanged. This spectacle has caused a great impression in the army, and the two officers whom General Washington had assigned to him as guards of honor to accompany him to execution had not the heart to follow him thither.

General Gates, whose defeat you will have read in the Gazette, has been recalled to Philadelphia by Congress, and the command of his corps given to General Greene. He stands quite high with the army. It is said that Congress suspects General Gates on account of his intimate relations with Arnold, and that he is recalled on this account. The three States of New York, Connecticut and Massachusetts have just named General Washington Dictator, with absolute power over the military. It is

believed that the other ten States will do the same thing. This resolution will give nerve to affairs by changing their complexion and arousing the Americans from their dull indolence Fourteen Spanish and nine French vessels have just taken, off Providence, a convoy of fifty sail on their way from the Indies and the Islands; they were richly laden.

Our war is no more active than it was. There is talk of a slight advantage the Americans have had over an English party; the news is not certain, and I have my doubts of it. At New York 6,000 troops, nearly all grenadiers and chasseurs have been embarked; 3,000 are already gone, and have landed in Chesapeake Bay. It is said that Clinton goes with the remainder. His object is certainly a southern expedition to seize North Carolina and Virginia, or to do all the damage possible in that quarter. They will meet but little resistance. The American corps there does not exceed 4,000 men, and some militia upon whom no dependence can be placed. The half, or perhaps three-quarters of these 4,000 men will, perhaps, have finished their term of enlistment in the month of January, when the army will be reduced to nothing. General Washington cannot leave the position he has taken without giving up to the English the entire course of the Hudson River and all the country in its neighborhood, and we, for want of sufficient means, cannot leave our island, where we are obliged to remain, like an oyster in his shell. The English will have entire freedom of action in the South; they have at Charleston 6,000 men in garrison by whom they can reinforce their army, and half the country is with them. Their position is good if they know how to take advantage of it, and ours is desperate if it do not change.

M. de Rochambeau has just sent Lauzun's Legion into quarters on the mainland 29 leagues from here. Want of necessary forage compelled him to it. The Duke de Lauzun continues to treat me with the same friendship. He talks to me constantly of my affair, and tells me how happy he will be to transfer the ownership of his legion to me; he does not wish money; he said to me when I mentioned it to him: "*I do not sell men, though I have sometimes bought them. I, however, would myself pay to find a man to whom I could leave my corps, which I love as my children, with such confidence as to you.*" The style is perfect, and thoroughly shows the man. The hope of a prompt success in this business enchants me and makes me happy.

Newport, 7th December, 1780

You see, my dear father, we are still at Newport; we are not even thinking of leaving it. We remain very quiet in our winter quarters. The army of Washington went into theirs fifteen days since. Admiral Rodney has gone back to the Islands with his 10 Ships, and we have Arbuthnot here with 7 Ships and 3 or 4 Frigates. Affairs are going on well in the South; Colonel Ferguson has been defeated by the Americans; his corps of 1400 men has been nearly destroyed, which has compelled Lord Cornwallis, who commands the English forces in that quarter, to fall back on Charleston with his corps of 4,000 men, the greater part of which

have died of fatigue or sickness. The English had sent Brigadier Leslie from New York, with a corps of 2,500 men, to join Cornwallis. By a letter from this officer to Lord Cornwallis, which was intercepted, we learn that he had disembarked at Portsmouth in Virginia, and that he was awaiting orders to effect a junction. Taking into consideration the retreat of Cornwallis towards Charleston, it seems probable that it will not be made. It is even said that Leslie returned to New York.

Before going into winter quarters, General Washington wished to make an attempt on Staten Island; he desired to draw the attention of the English to another direction by a foraging expedition against Kingsbridge, but they were not deceived, and having on the contrary reinforced all their posts in Staten Island, he gave up the attempt. M. de Rochambeau has just returned from a little trip of six days to the mainland. I accompanied him, making a third; we saw neither a fine country nor good people; they are for most part lazy and mercenary; how with such qualities make any thing out of them for the war?

CONNECTICUT ELECTIONS IN THE COLONIAL DAYS

A LETTER FROM A GENTLEMAN IN CONNECTICUT TO HIS FRIEND IN NEW YORK

From the New York Mercury, March 22, 1767

Sir—You request to be satisfied with our Method of electing our Rulers in this Colony, and what Security we have against fraud, and imposition, or guard against undue elections, whether persons viciously inclined may not give in many votes for one and the same person at the same election without detection of punishment. It is with reluctance that I undertake to answer your request; but since I am satisfied that it is not founded on (?) inimical to the colony, I shall give you as true and as just an account of the matter as I can, and so shall observe to you that the laws of the colony made to regulate the election of governors, deputy governors, assistants, treasurer and secretary requires, that the freemen in the several towns in the colony (who by the way are the only loyal electors) shall met together annully in the month of September, where, after they shall have chosen their deputies or representatives, shall give in their votes to an assistant justice of the peace or constable, with their names fairly written, which assistant, justice of the peace or constable shall make out a copy of the names of all those voted for, and the number of votes each person hath, and attest the same, and seal them up, and send them to the general assembly in October, when the votes of all the freemen in the government shall be compared, and the twenty persons who shall on such comparison be found to have the greatest number of votes, shall be the persons out of whom the twelve assistants shall be chosen; the next election in the month of April preceding the election which is in the month of May, the freemen in all the towns are to meet in their several towns, and give in their votes for such twelve of the twenty as they chose should be assistants

for the year then ensuing, and the constables are to receive the votes, seal them up, and either carry them or send them by one of the deputies to Stratford, and deliver them to those that shall be appointed to receive, sort and count them, and those twelve that have the greatest number of votes are to be assistants for the year then next ensuing.

This is the method of choosing our council, or assistants; the governor and deputy governor may be chosen out of any of the freemen of the colony; and all the security we have for men's acting honestly, and all the guard we have against fraud, is a penalty of four or five pounds; if any man that is not a freeman shall presume to vote in the choice of these officers, or if any man that is a freeman shall put in more than one vote for one man to one office at the same election.

I must confess it looks to me as though this wanted an addition or an amendment; and the fact in the case, if I am rightly informed, justifies my sentiments. I was told in the great ruffle there was in the government last election, when so many of our best men was slaughtered merely for their steady loyalty to the crown and the parliament of Great Britain, and to save the priviledge of the government from a legal forfeiture, there came a vast many more votes from one town than they had freemen, either at their meeting or in the town; also in the sessions of the assembly this last October one of the persons appointed to receive and count the votes sent in for nomination told me there came a paper from a certain town in New London County, on which was writ a certain number of names, and to these names a certain number of figures annexed, without being attested by any assistant, justice or constable to be the votes of freemen of any town, or so much as sealed up; and yet by the major part of the counties the law it self in that case was arbitrated away, and that paper received, and the number on it counted as the votes of the freemen of the town of Preston, without any of these things which the law, as it now stands, requires; this makes me think is as necessary at least that the counters should be sworn to act in the fall, as in the spring of the year.

Thus I have attended in some measure to answer your request.

I am your humble servant.

(—— ——)

NOTES

ARNOLD AT SARATOGA.—In the battle of the 7th of October, 1777, which practically decided the fate of Burgoyne's expedition, General Benedict Arnold is represented as galloping about the field like one beside himself, leading the troops to the charge with reckless daring, and even unconsciously dealing blows on those about him.

Wilkinson attributed his conduct to intoxication, but Major Armstrong, who assisted in removing Arnold wounded from the field, saw no signs of that. Other methods for accounting for his frenzied behavior have been suggested, but no *evidence* bearing on the question has heretofore been produced that I am aware of. In the History of the Town of Northwood, New Hampshire, just

published, I find some testimony which may aid us in solving the problem.

Dr. Edmund Chadwick of Deerfield, N. H., was in October, 1777, acting as surgeon of Colonel Scammell's regiment, and was present at the battle in question. He related that during the action, while he was engaged in his professional duties in rear of the American troops, a hogshead of rum stood near him, the upper head of which was removed for the convenience of serving the contents to the men ; that Arnold rode up in hot haste, saying, "Give me a dipperful of that rum." It was handed him ; he drank *the whole*, wheeled his horse, and dashed into the fight.

The term "dipperful" is rather vague, but very diminutive vessels would be out of place in the army, and it would be a small dipper probably which contained less than a pint. It may be added that Dr. Chadwick was well known to be a gentleman of character and respectability.

With regard to the statement of Armstrong, it may be said that a great shock sometimes instantly sobers the most intoxicated person. Arnold had been severely wounded, and had his horse shot under him, before he was taken from the field.

Exeter, N. H. B.

JOHN CRUGER AND THE DECLARATION OF 1765.—In the Magazine for June, 1877 [I. 350–51], speaking of the Stamp Act Congress of 1765, John Austin Stevens states that John Cruger of New York was the author, *by tradition*, of the "Declaration of Rights and Grievances" adopted by that body. If he mean the "*Resolves*" of that Congress, I think he is mistaken, and I must claim the honor of their authorship for the "Farmer of Pennsylvania."

In the year 1801 two young printers of Wilmington, Del., collected together the political writings of John Dickenson, and published them in two volumes. Their selection and arrangement were made *under the direct supervision of Mr. Dickenson*, as he himself distinctly states in a letter to his kinsman, Dr. George Logan of Philadelphia, which appeared in Vol. I, page 413, etc., of the American Quarterly Review for 1826. This letter was occasioned by the assertion of Chief Justice Marshall, in the second volume of his "Life of Washington," that Richard Henry Lee was the author of the First Petition to the King, when in reality the author was Mr. Dickenson. Judge Marshall made the necessary correction in a note to the fourth volume of his "Life of Washington."

The "Resolves" referred to in the first part of this letter will be found in the first volume of Mr. Dickenson's writings. As Mr. Dickenson himself justly remarks, had he allowed any article to appear in those volumes as coming from his pen, when in reality they came from another's, he would be guilty of an absolute dishonesty.

Upon the strength of these facts, I am obliged to believe him the author of the "Resolves," and accordingly bespeak a place in the Magazine for this necessary correction.

WHARTON DICKENSON.

Honesdale, Penn.

THE FIRST GREAT QUARTO BIBLE IN AMERICA.—Caleb Cresson, in his diary,

recently privately printed, describes a visit to Isaac Collins, at Trenton, on the 25th August, 1791. He says that after breakfast he "went up to his printing room, where his hands were busily employed on a quarto edition of the Holy Bible, which they were near finishing;—a great work, and, I believe, the first of the size printed in America. He told us he meant to strike off 5,000 impressions, which would occasion him to advance, in paper and workmanship, at least from £4,000 to £5,000 before he could receive any advantage. But as our Society in the United States, and particularly in Pennsylvania, have encouraged the task, by subscription and otherwise, I hope his laudable and industrious endeavours may be finally blessed and prospered."—*Caleb Cresson's Diary.*

EDITOR.

FRANKLIN'S GRAVE. — I went into what is called the Church burying ground, and viewed the little spot that contains the earthly remains of Benjamin Franklin, once so popular, and noted in his day amongst the great and the learned, but death has now brought him on a level with the meanest. He made but little profession as to religion in his life, but I am told he thought it of some importance near his close, and so we must leave him in the hands of Infinite mercy. His cold bed is close up to the north wall, near the north-west corner.—*Diary of Caleb Cresson*, 1791–1792.

EDITOR.

THE PHILADELPHIA FRESH-FISH MARKET. — *Philadelphia, June 7*, 1791. Friday morning, [June 3] for the first time, arrived in this city, the waggon which henceforward is to supply Philadelphia regularly with fish.

By this conveyance, fish, &c., will be brought in perfection to this city, even in the hottest weather. The waggon will travel in the night, and be only 10½ hours on the road; by means of three stages with good horses kept ready, at proper distances from each other. Only a small quantity of Sheeps-head could be procured for our market on Friday, and they in consequence, were sold perhaps rather dearer (7d. per lb.) than they will in future be disposed off. We owe this establishment to a company of gentlemen in this city, who have severally subscribed to put this plan in execution.

PETERSFIELD.

CAPE DE VERD DOLLARS. — *Providence, R. I., June 23*, 1791. A considerable number of counterfeit Dollars of different dates, have been lately discovered in circulation in this town and the adjacent country. They are made of Block Tin, are not milled, and resemble those taken from a wreck on the African coast, usually called Cape de Verd Dollars, which have been corroded by the salt water. These counterfeits are easily detected, as they are light, and feel greasy to the touch. PETERSFIELD.

ELK MEAT.—At Lake Saint François we had two elks which were the first fruits of our hunt. We made a capital feast upon them. The elk is an animal as large as a mule and somewhat of the same form, except that the elk has cloven feet, and on his head very large horns which he sheds every winter, and

which are as flat as those of the fallow deer. The flesh is very fine, particularly when fat, and the skin is held in high esteem. It is commonly called the Orignal here. The heat at this time and the limited experience we had of life in the woods were the cause of our losing a great part of our meat.

The manner of preserving it in the woods where no salt is to be had is to cut in very thin slices and spread it upon a gridiron, which is raised three feet above the earth and covered with small twigs, upon which the meat is spread; then a fire is made beneath the gridiron, and the meat is dried in the fire and smoke until it contains no more moisture, and is dry as a piece of wood; it is then put up in packages of 30 or 40 lbs. which are wrapped in bark, and thus packed will keep five or six years without spoiling. When it is to be eaten it is reduced to powder between two stones and slowly boiled with Indian corn. The loss of our meat was the cause of our having nothing to eat but Indian corn and water for more than a month, for often we were not in places near which there was any fishing, and the season was not favorable for hunting. —*Relation of l'Abbé de Gallinée.—Margry's French Discoveries and Settlements.*

EDITOR.

FIRST PRINTING PRESS FOR THE CHEROKEE NATION.—*London, March* 2, 1791. The Indian chiefs depart for America on the 26th; they go with deep rooted enmity to the Spaniards, and Mr. Bowles (an adopted Indian), the Cherokee Chief, takes with him a printing press, compositors, &c., and means to introduce the art of printing among the Indians. W. K.

HAMILTON AND BURR.—Your note on Follow the Drum (III, 198), and Songs of the Fathers (III, 265), bring to my mind what I have heard from my father, Major Bezaleel Howe, of the New Hampshire line of the Continental army. He was one of the founders of the Cincinnati, and present at the Fourth of July dinner at which Hamilton and Burr met for the last time. He observed that they exchanged the courtesies of the table, and had no suspicion that there was any hostile feeling.

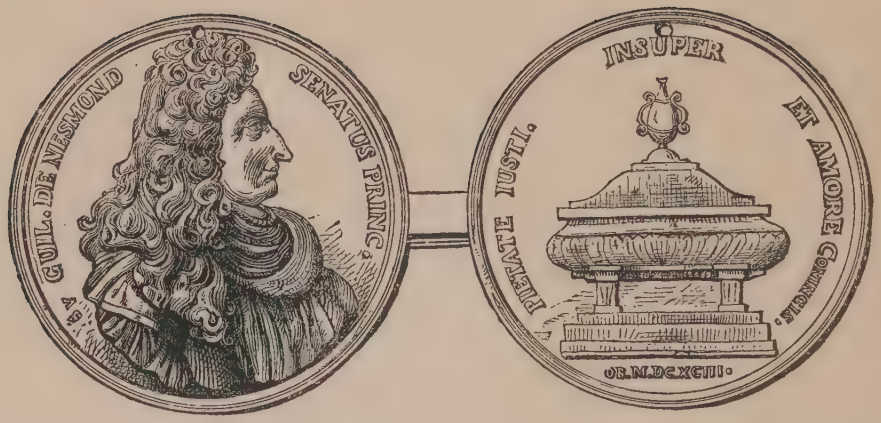
Passaic. JOHN M. HOWE.

QUERIES

AN HISTORICAL MEDAL.—A few years ago a medal was found in a grave near the site of the old Miami village at Fort Wayne, Indiana, by Mr. Henry Baker, while digging a drain for his farm, which is valuable as throwing some light upon the early intercourse of the French with the Miamis. It was found with some buttons and other trinkets enclosed in a small copper kettle lying near the head of the skeleton.

The obverse has a fine medallion portrait, in high relief, surrounded by the legend, "Guil. De Nesmond. Senatus Princ." On the reverse is a cenotaph surmounted by an urn, with the legend, "Pietate, Justi. Insuper et Amore Coningis," and below it, "Ob. M.DC.XCIII."

The medal is of copper or bronze, is perfectly preserved, and the head is un-



doubtedly a portrait of the de Nesmond in whose memory it is struck. It is two and three-quarter inches in diameter, and perforated for suspension.

The medal is of interest historically, for the reason that this point, as a portage to the Mississippi, has scant mention in history, although early known, and the site of the principal town of the great Miami Confederacy.

Little Turtle, in his speech at the Treaty of Greenville, July 15, 1795, speaks of this point as "that glorious gate, through which all the good words of our chiefs had to pass, from the north to the south and from the east to the west." La Salle, in a report to Frontenac, made probably in 1682, mentions the route by the Maumee and Wabash as the most direct to the Mississippi, and he speaks, in his will, 1680–1, of possessions in the town of the Miamis. Yet for a long period the long route by way of the lakes was followed, and we find little mention of the shorter route.

The date of the establishment of the Fort des Miamis at this point is not known with accuracy, although tradition says it was established in 1734 by De Vincennes, and was visited by De Celeron in 1749. Probably some confusion has arisen among historians from the fact that there were three forts of the name, one near the mouth of the St. Joseph of Lake Michigan, one at the present site of Fort Wayne, and the other down the Maumee near the dividing line between the States of Indiana and Ohio.

If we were to judge from the scanty materials furnished by historians, we would be likely to conclude that little communication was had with this point and the natives here prior to the second quarter of the seventeenth century; but this medal, now fortunately brought to light, proves that the relations of the French with the Miamis here were of an intimate character, else de Nesmond, who died in 1693, would not have been on such friendly ("Amore") terms with Coningis as to cause his memorial medal to bear the friendly legend.

Who was Coningis? Perhaps the Chief of the Miami Confederacy at that

time; but the writer is unable to find any reference to such a personage.

Little more can be found in American history of de Nesmond. Parkman speaks of a Marquis de Nesmond who, with a squadron of fifteen of the best ships of the French navy, sailed for Newfoundland in 1696 with orders to defeat the English squadron supposed to be there, and after being reinforced at Penobscot by 1,500 Canadian troops to fall upon Boston. (Frontenac and New France 382–4.) This could not be William de Nesmond whose portrait appears on the medal, for he died in 1693.

Who, then, was William de Nesmond, the friend of Coningis, and what were his relations and those of the French Government to the Miamis at the head of the Maumee prior to 1693?

R. S. Robertson.

Col. Broadhead's expedition of 1779.—Can any of your readers inform me what is the title of the book in which I may find Colonel Daniel Broadhead's report of his expedition, against the Indians, on the Alleghany river in 1779, to Timothy Pickering? A. E.

Sinclairville, Chautauqua Co., N. Y.

Ancient boston pasquinade.—The following verses, to all appearance inedited, were found recently in a bundle of letters and other manuscripts, carefully preserved for generations in a New England family, and dating from the latter part of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth. I have no other clue to their history. Some of the personal allusions in these lines are plain enough. But what Governor was intended? Who was the "Vice Gerent?" and what is the significance of the allusion at the close? Perhaps some "Boston man" of the present day may be able to enlighten us.

THE BOSTON MAN'S ANSWER TO THE CAROLINA MAN

Sr
We have a Governor, an honest man
As e're yet ruled the roost, deny it who can,
A Gentleman by far too Good for those
Unfaithfull men who lead him by the nose.
Get D——y, B——r and the rest removed,
He'l rule us better & be well beloved
Rather than lose his aim, Achitophel
Wou'd sink the Province to ye pit of Hell.
He saills with every wind from every Quarter
As suits his Turn, He'll Bless or Curse ye Charter.
There's one fiend more, a Demon I had rather
Not name, but since I must, 'tis C——n M——r,
That fiend as false as Hell.—
Sr
We've a Vice Gerent eke, one Goody who,
One of the worst of all the Canvas Crew,
A Thick scull'd Sot who can't count fifty-seven,
He's hardly sense to play at odd or even;
But some may say he's no such fooll, but can,
Then I affirm, He's not ane honest man.
Brand which you please, his honesty or scull,
He's Knave or Ideot,—Witness Muster Roll.

C. W. B.

Rye, Westchester County, N. Y.

Balcarres.—Why is it that all our historians of Burgoyne's expedition, down to W. L. Stone in 1876, persist in misspelling the name of the commandant of the British light infantry? They uniformly write it Balcarras, instead of Balcarres, as he wrote it himself, and as it is given in Fonblanque's Life of Burgoyne, and we believe by English writers generally.

Exeter. B.

GOV. GEO. B. M'CLELLAN'S ANCESTRY.—Will one of your genealogical correspondents inform me if any relationship exists between General Geo. B. McClellan, the present Governor of New Jersey, and the Scottish house of Kirkcudbright? I have always been under the impression that the Governor's ancestry sprang from the "green isle of Erin," but a friend informs me that his ancestry was pure and unadulterated Scotch.

New York. D. F. T.

DE LA NEUVILLE.—Can any reader of the Magazine give any account of the French officer bearing the above name, who was breveted a Brigadier-Genera in the revolutionary army by Congress? It seems that there were two persons of the name in the American service, the other with the rank of Colonel. The General held his commission but a short time, probably on account of the jealousy of some of the native officers of high rank.

Exeter. B.

PATRICK HENRY.—Histories generally inform us that Patrick Henry, in his memorable speech before the Virginia Legislature on the resolutions upon the Stamp Act, said: "Cæsar had his Brutus, Charles the First his Cromwell," etc., etc. It is denied by some that he ever used these words, and asserted that they were the invention of his biographers. Is there any contemporaneous authority that will settle this point?

Brooklyn. MANY AMERICANS.

REPLIES

GATE'S BURIAL PLACE.—(III. 204.) General Gates died on the morning of Thursday, April 10, 1806, after a long and tedious illness, a sincere and devout evangelical Christian. His death occurred at his residence, now the corner of Twenty-second street and Second avenue, then the Bloomingdale Pike. His funeral, however, took place at one o'clock on the following day at No. 59 Broadway, whither his body had been removed, probably to enable his friends in the city to attend more conveniently.

Through the courtesy of my friend, Rev. Dr. Morgan Dix, I am enabled to set the question where the General is buried at rest, as will be seen by the following leaf from the Register of Trinity Parish, kindly copied and sent to me by the Rector:

1806	Persons deceased.	Where buried.	AGE.	
			Yrs.	Mos.
April 11..	Gen. Horatio Gates.	Trinity.....	78	..

A true copy from the Register of Burials of the Parish of Trinity Church in the City of New York.

Attest: MORGAN DIX, Rector.

I have some other interesting information concerning General Gates, which I shall communicate later.

WILLIAM L. STONE.

Jersey City Heights.

LOST LOCALITIES—CONEWAGO CHAPEL, NEW YORK.—(III. 203.) The Roman Catholic Church of the Sacred Heart at Conewago is located on the eastern banks

of the Plum and Little Conewago Creeks, near their confluence in Adams county, Penn., not far from the York county line. The first church was a small log chapel, erected about 1740, and services conducted by a mission priest from Hartford county, Md. The first resident priest was Rev. Matthias Manners, S. J., a German, whose proper name was Sittensperger, who, to anglicize his name, took the English equivalent, "Manners." Father Manners was succeeded by a number of priests, who were all members of the Society of Jesus, the most distinguished of whom was Father Pellentz, who built a stone church in 1787. This worthy father died in 1800, at the age of seventy-seven. In the years 1850–1 Rev. Joseph Enders, S. J., enlarged and beautified the church. About six hundred acres of limestone land are attached to the Conewago church, which is laid off in two farms, advantageously tilled and improved, with houses and ample barns. The congregation being large—numbering nearly three thousand souls—is self-sustaining, and the income of the farms goes into the general treasury of the Society of Jesus, to be laid out in erecting churches, founding colleges and supporting schools. The view from the steeple of the church at Conewago is an extensive and varied one of the surrounding country—Gettysburg, with its historic Round Tops and ramparts, and the South Mountain in the background; the beautiful village of New Oxford, and the Pigeon Hills; Hanover, with its numerous steeples and turrets, and beyond, towards Littlestown and the Maryland line, the magnificent and fertile valley of the Conewago.

Harisburg, Penn. W. H. E.

LORD BELLOMONT'S COFFIN. — (II. 698.) The remains of Richard, Earl of Bellomont, at his death (March 5, 1701) were interred, *not* in the "Old Dutch Church" according to Dunlap, but in a vault beneath the chapel of the fort, near the site of the present Bowling Green. About the year 1788 the fort was demolished to make way for the "Government House" which was erected on its site. In the course of the work this vault was opened, and found to contain the remains of several persons, including those of Governor Bellomont. The "History of the Fort in New York" states that the coffins (which were of lead and in good preservation) found in the vault were taken by Mr. Pintard, who conducted the operations, and interred in St. Paul's church-yard, where they were left "without monumental notice," and that, furthermore, the silver plates of the coffins were removed by Mr. Van Zandt, who intended them for preservation, but after his death *they were converted into spoons.*

I have little doubt but that the remains of a coffin spoken of as being in the Historical Society are fragments found at the time of Lord Bellomont's disinterment, and probably deposited in the Society by Mr. Pintard.

In regard to the burial place of Leisler, I might say that in Valentine's Manual for 1866 there is a picture of Jacob Lesler's grave, but from what source obtained is not stated. The grave must

have been located near the site of the present Chatham and Spruce streets. From there his remains were removed to the old church in Garden street, but whether there was a monument erected over them in the latter place, I have nowhere seen stated. C. A. C.

LOST LOCALITIES—MANOR OF MASKE. (III. 203.) This was one of the Proprietary Manors in the Province of Pennsylvania, located west of the Susquehanna river in York, now Adams county. It contained 43,500 acres, and was surveyed in the year 1741 for the use of the Proprietaries, Thomas and Richard Penn. For a full description, see History of Pennsylvania by Dr. Egle, Jr., p. 281.

Harrisburg, Penn. W. H. E.

LOST LOCALITIES—FOREST-OF-DEAN. —(III. 203.) Forest-of-Dean was a locality in Cornwallshire, England, famous for its iron mines. Forest-of-Dean is the name of an iron mine in the township of Monroe, Orange county, N. Y., west of Fort Montgomery, among the Hudson Highlands. The mine was opened about the year 1761, and was doubtless so named from the English mine in Cornwall. There is a little stream in the town of Monroe called Forest-of-Dean Creek.

In a ruined Quaker meeting-house near my residence which was built about one hundred years ago, is a box-stove for wood, on which the following words are cast: "Forest of Dean, 1767." This implies that so early as that date a smelting furnace and a foundry had been erected near the Forest-of-Dean mines, west of the Hudson.

A portion of the great chain that spanned the Hudson river at West Point, and which was constructed at the Sterling Ironworks of Noble & Townsend in Orange county, was made of iron from the Forest-of-Dean mines.

The Ridge, N. Y. B. J. L.

LOST LOCALITIES—THE SLOTE.—(III. 203.) To the inquirer in the March number of the Magazine who desires to know where "the Slote" was, I would say that such designation was given by the low Dutch residents of Tappan and vicinity to its landing place, or grounds adjacent on the Hudson river.

Within my memory store-keepers and farmers a few miles back, when they went to the wharf for supplies received by sloop or "periagua," always spoke of going to "the Slote." The name may be found, in connection with Tappan, in the town of "Orangetown," Rockland Co., in Simeon DeWitt's County Map of the State of New York, published in 1829. J. N. IRELAND.

WILLIAM LIVINGSTON.—(II, 484.) In the biographical sketch of the war Governor of New Jersey there is an error as to his parentage. He was grandson, not son, of Robert Livingston, and son of Philip Livingston and Catherine Van Brugh. EDITOR.

BATTLE OF MONMOUTH — (III. 59.) Your correspondent, R. C., alludes

to Clinton's moonlight flittings as the theme of many a jest during his subsequent services in America. While examining a file of the Pennsylvania Packet I found in the issue of September 9, 1780, a poem of considerable length, supposed to be written by a lady, relating to the movements of the British army, from which I copy the following verse and foot note referring to the retreat from Monmouth :

So we dressed in high taste to see them embark,
Not thinking that Sir Harry would go in the dark;
To light a retreat, as seen in his letter,*
He once used the moon—for want of a better.

* The battle of Monmouth, where Sir Harry Clinton says that he took advantage of the moon; I suppose this is what the Lady alludes to. It may be well enough, however, to set her right, by informing her that he did not begin his retreat till the moon had gone down, which, vulgarly speaking, was really to take advantage of the moon.

PHILADELPHIA.

—For one, I cannot accept J. W. de P.'s reply, for he does not meet the puzzle of my almanac. He questions Washington's authorities, but places implicit faith in Clinton's statement; but he cannot question the evidence of the almanac, which emphatically gives no room for Clinton's "*benefit of an hour's moonlight, if not more,*" to use the words of J. W. de P. T. H. M.

ANDRE'S REMAINS.—(III, 203.) W. N. will find in the United Service Journal for November, 1833, what may be called the official account of the removal of André's remains, written by Mr. Buchanan, the British Consul at New York, under whose directions the removal was effected. W. N. should, after reading this account, examine a reply to it in the New England Magazine for May, 1834, by Dr. Thatcher, entitled, "Observations relating to the Execution of Major André."

W. N. will find an account of the affair in the New York Evening Post of August 11, 1831; also, I presume, in any New York paper about that date.

Alleghany, Pa. ISAAC CRAIG.

—Dean Stanley, in his Historical Memorials of Westminster Abbey, Murray, London, 1876, pp. 256–57, gives some reference to the removal of the remains: "The courtesy and good feeling of the Americans were remarkable. The bier was decorated with garlands and flowers, as it was transported to the ship. On its arrival in England," etc., etc. "The chest in which the remains were enclosed is still preserved in the Revestry." And the Dean refers to Sargent's Life of André, pp. 409–11, where an account of the exhumation and removal can be found. T. H. M.

—An account of the removing of André's remains to Westminster Abbey in 1821 can be found in the New Englamd Magazine, VI., May 1834, and the United Service Journal, November, 1833, London, both of which are referred to in a brief notice of the matter in vol. VI., Pennsylvania Historical Society Memoirs, Contributions to American History, pp. 373–5. I suppose something can be found on the subject in Sargent's André, Boston, 1861.

Brownsville, Pa. H. E. H.

(Publishers of Historical Works wishing Notices, will address the Editor, with Copies, Box 100, Station D—N. Y. Post office.)

DÉCOUVERTES ET ÉTABLISSEMENTS DES FRANÇAIS DANS L'OUEST ET DANS LE SUD DE L'AMÉRIQUE SEPTENTRIONALE, 1614–1698. Mémoires Originaux et inédits receuillis par PIERRE MARGRY. 3 volumes grand in 8vo, jésus avec cartes. Librarie Orientale et Americaine de MAISONNEUVE ET CIE, Paris. For sale by B. WESTERMANN & CO., New York.

VOL. I—VOYAGES OF THE FRENCH ON THE GREAT LAKES—DISCOVERY OF THE OHIO AND MISSISSIPPI (1614–1684). Prefacing this volume of 618 pages is a portrait of Cavelier de La Salle, engraved on copper by Charles Waltner, and an introduction by M. MARGRY. to the entire work contained in the three volumes.

VOL. II—LETTERS OF CAVELIER DE LA SALLE, AND CORRESPONDENCE RELATING TO HIS UNDERTAKING (1678–1685). This volume of 617 pages contains also a large map of the bay of Cataracouy and its surroundings at the time of Cavelier de La Salle.

VOL. III—EXPLORATION OF THE MOUTHS OF THE MISSISSIPPI, AND VOYAGE OF THE ABBÉ JEAN CAVELIER ACROSS THE CONTINENT, FROM THE COAST OF TEXAS TO QUEBEC. A second map at the beginning of this volume, taken from a chart in the geographical collection of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, represents the discoveries of Cavelier de La Salle from 1669 to 1683. The volume closes with a general index of the sources from which all the documents contained in the entire work are drawn.

Notice has already been called in this Magazine [III, 315, 375, 637] to each of these volumes as it appeared; but the subject is of such importance to American students that the announcement of M. Margry is now translated and commended to the reader as the best account of the purpose and contents of the work.

"A few words seem necessary to explain the importance of the collection we here announce. We state in the first place that the antagonism of France and England did not alone assure in 1783 the independence of the colonies of the latter power in North America; another of its results was to give to the United States as the limits of their territory the great lakes on the north, the Gulf of Mexico on the south, and the Mississippi on the west.

"Our ancient possessions thus paid, to state the fact, the dowry of this people when it reached its majority. Indeed, according to the memorial of the Marquis of Vaudreuil of the 16th February, 1756, the eastern boundaries of the French and English colonies were on the New England and New York side of the chain of mountains which begins below the St. George river, and extends as far as the Alleghanies; thus these mountains form the frontier on the side of Pennsylvania, Virginia and Carolina.

"The same antagonism of France and England led twenty years afterwards to a new territorial increase of the United States, also taken from our ancient possessions. The space which we occupied to the west of the Mississippi, a space which we had ceded in 1763 to Spain, and which she had returned to us by the treaty of Saint-Ildefonse, completed our task of 1783 in favor of the new nation, destined to become the heir to the best part of our ancient empire.

"William Pitt, son of Lord Chatham, had begun his political career by the announcement to Parliament of the treaty which avenged us for the humiliation of the Seven Years War, of which his father had been the principal leader. He felt this as a personal wound, and never forgot, in his hatred of Louis XVI. and of France during the Revolution, the loss which we had inflicted on his country. The treaty of Amiens, to which England was compelled to submit, suspended but for a moment the line of conduct which Pitt had followed. Soon after the refusal of the British Cabinet to surrender Malta, foreshadowing to the First Consul the rupture of peace, France ceded Louisiana to the United States, in order that at the moment of the outbreak of hostilities her enemy should not sieze upon it. This was a terrible blow, inflicted by one who thoroughly understood the science of tactics. England saw in the restitution of Malta a cause of danger to the eastern route to the Indies. The First Consul punished her want of faith by giving to the United States the western route.

"When we consider the present state of the once French possessions, across which this great route passes, and see all this space—that is to say, the land lying between the Alleghanies and the Rocky Mountains, covered with a numerous population—it must be admitted that to fertilize it nothing less was necessary than constant deposits of European emigration. Any single nation would have exhausted itself without success. The cause of civilization has thus been

admirably served by the circumstances which compelled France to cede this territory. Consequently, while it is perfectly true that it was sad for us to lose this country, after having left so many of our people in and entertained such hopes of it, we must look beyond and recognize that in the life of nations, as in that of individuals, there is something else than possession; and that when a task has been finished, a mission accomplished, contentment should follow.

"Peoples also, who leave behind them the trace of services rendered, have the greatest wealth that can be desired. The part of France in North America seems to have been to prepare the destiny of the continent. Considered in this light, the aid given by her to the emancipation of the thirteen English colonies established on the Atlantic coast, and the increase of the United States by the cession of the largest part of her inheritance, are but our second title to the gratitude of North America. Our first in reality was in the discoveries we made, and the colonies which we later established, a work full of danger, of immense labor and abnegation of the present for the sake of the future; an honorable work in that alone, since a large part of America must to this look for its origin, its birth and its first development..

"These reasons have led me to collect the documents relating to the explorations of the French in the territory ceded to the American Confederation by the treaties of 1783 and 1803.

"The three volumes which I now publish are, as it were, a birth record of the numerous States which have sprung up in this vast extent of territory. The documents which they contain are in fact the writings of those who first discovered the soil, followed the water courses, cleared the country, opened the forests and established settlements in the midst of a savage population. Those men were the fathers of these vast territories, and since the recital of their deeds merits in their results the respect of the generations who have profited by them, since it is meritorious enough for the descendants of the early settlers, in the midst of a population which more and more absorbs them, to take a just pride in it, I do not hesitate to say that beyond these considerations it is sufficiently interesting for history in general to concern itself with the incidents as well as the men that it describes.

"The first of these volumes comprehends the travels of the French on Lakes Huron, Erie and Ontario, as well as the discoveries in the Valley of the Mississippi. In these recitals one person rises above all others in the heighth of his intelligence, his courage and his perseverance, as he was above all his companions in his stature, which was so great that his head was visible above the tallest reeds.

"The letters of this personage, of whom nothing has been known until now, elucidate and complete in the second volume the recital given in the first. Thus for the first time is had from the very hand of the discoverer of the Mississippi a knowledge of his important and chequered enterprise, while another part of these letters prepares us for the expedition in which he lost his life.

"The third volume, which contains a long and touching narrative of his last projects, and of the voyage of the Abbé Cavelier from Texas to Quebec, shows to us, in the first place, in the plans of French settlement on the Gulf of Mexico, a continuation of the efforts of our country in favor of the liberty of the seas from the time of Francis I.; later in 1684, Louis XIV. being at war with Spain, the expedition of Cavelier de La Salle, who took advantage of the discovery of the Mississippi to cross the country to the conquest of the mines of Santa Barbara, will appear to us as a sequence of our march towards the auriferous center of Spanish power, a march of which the settlements in the Antilles were as preludes, and the expedition of Pointis one of the last episodes.

"The introduction to these three volumes will sufficiently indicate the value of the material I here give, compared with the books which have hitherto been authority on this subject. Their value appeared so great to Mr. Parkman that he, the best informed of all authors upon our history in America, did not hesitate to consider this work as one of the most interesting monuments in the history of the West. This is the judgment of an American who looks at history in the light of science only; but the object I, a Frenchman, have in view will not be fully attained, unless in the awakening of noble memories the publication of these glorious documents serve to assure the descendants of our first colonists that they are not wholly forgotten in their ancient metropolis. PIERRE MARGRY."

We shall return to this subject in another form; meanwhile repeat the hope that it may not be long ere a translation of these volumes make the interesting narrative familiar to the American people.

THE TELEGAPH IN AMERICA; ITS FOUNDER, PROMOTER AND NOTED MEN. By JAMES D. REID. 8vo, pp. 846. DERBY BROTHERS. New York, 1879.

In this massive volume is presented a complete history of the telegraph on the American Continent, and a continuous record of its introduction. Under the appropriate title of the Morse Memorials ten short chapters, which will prove of most interest to the general reader, prepare the way for the account of local detail in operation and management. These recite in an easy way the first beginnings of telegraphs in the rude signals

familiar to antiquity, next the semaphore system of visual signals introduced at New York by Christopher Colles in 1812. We are now brought to the Progress of Electrical Science in America, from the experiments of Franklin to the invention of a recording instrument devised by Professor Morse in 1832, constructed in 1835, and first practically completed in 1837, when a description of the register was filed in the Patent Office in Washington. This account is in the words of Morse. The apparatus was then incomplete. The electric current once confined and compelled to man's service, improvements in the control of its workings have been constant, chief among which the discovery of the second or combined circuit, or relay, as it is familiarly called, the honor of which was claimed for various men of science, but is here definitely attributed to Morse. The Government refused to purchase the invention in 1843 when offered to it for one hundred thousand dollars, perhaps because it was thought that it might interfere with the mails, just as in the beginning of the century it declined the use of gas in lighthouses in the fear that it might injure the whale fisheries. The tendency of legislation is now in the other direction, and the whole of the vast system of American lines may soon pass into Government control.

In according honor to those to whom it is due, the great practical services of Mr. Henry O'Reilly have not been overlooked; and we must here bear witness to the untiring industry of this gentleman, whose monumental history of the telegraph in America, deposited in the New York Historical Society in a large number of volumes of manuscripts and clippings from newspapers, supplies a complete account of the enterprise in its minutest details. The Western Union Company was a natural outgrowth of the plan of Mr. O'Reilly for a connection of the interior cities of the seaboard. Next to Morse and O'Reilly in importance comes the name of William Orton, whose remarkable administrative powers brought the colossal combination to a complete success. The writer of these lines knew him well; indeed it was at his personal request, founded on knowledge of his administrative powers, that Mr. Chase called him to the superintendence of the Department of Internal Revenue, when they attracted general attention.

A HISTORY OF SAN FRANCISCO AND INCIDENTALLY OF THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA. By JOHN S. HITTELL. 8vo, pp. 498. J. L. BANCROFT & CO. San Francisco, 1878.

This is the history of the City of the Golden Gate, prepared in accordance with the resolution of Congress of March, 1876, recommending the delivery in every town of a sketch of its history from its foundation. Of the value of these Centennial stones there is only one opinion. Since the Columbian discovery no event in the history of the world has had a wider influence than the finding of gold in deposite in California. By extending the base of commercial credit it has given new life to the enterprise of mankind. It was propitious in its very beginning, and to it may be alone ascribed the escape of Europe from the distress which reached its climax in 1848. But for it the face of European society might have been changed. As for San Francisco, it is not difficult to foresee that it is to become one of the cosmopolitan cities of the world, without a rival on the western coast of this continent.

Mr. Hittell divides his subject into eras; thus we have the Indian, Mission and Village Eras, each in a separate chapter, the whole of which include the story before the gold discoveries. Then comes the Golden Era and its decline, the Silver Era, and a final chapter on Generalities. The section devoted to Broderick is a singular chapter in the history of American politics. The reader for information or pleasure will be amply repaid.

THE CONFEDERATE FIRST AND SECOND MISSOURI BRIGADES, 1861–1865—AND FROM WAKARUSA TO APPOMATOX. A Military Anagram. By R. S. BEVIER. 8vo, pp. 480. BRYAN, BRAND & CO. St. Louis, 1879.

The first part of this volume is given to a history of the troops raised in Missouri for the Confederate service, who took the field under General Sterling Price, an excellent steel portrait of whom prefaces the book. When the State authorities decided to join in resistance to the General Government, and plunged the State into secession, Price received his appointment as Major-General. Of the accuracy of the volume as an account of the military movements in which these brigades took part, from the day when they crossed the border to join the Confederate army until the last remnants struck their flag to General Canby on the Gulf in April, 1865, we are not competent judges. In the view of the author nothing before or since the famous Anabasis of Xenophon can be at all compared to the patriotism and daring of the Missouri Brigades.

The second part of the volume, made up of personal reminiscences of the author, taken from his own diary of the war, is extremely interesting, as all truthful narratives of personal experiences under danger and difficulty are. Mr. Bevier was Colonel of one of the battalions in the Second, later merged into the First Brigade. He pays but little attention to military

matters, but his chapters are full of camp stories and personal sketches of men who played their part in life's battle, and are not likely to be forgotten either by their friends or their whilome foes. There is a portrait of the author and of some other men of mark in the contest.

SERMONS PREACHED IN THE CHURCH OF THE FIRST RELIGIOUS SOCIETY IN ROXBURY. By GEORGE PUTNAM, Minister of the Society. 16mo, pp. 368. HOUGHTON, OSGOOD & Co. Boston, 1878.

So long as Mr. Putnam lived he would not consent to any publication of his manuscripts, but leaving no restrictions behind, his representatives wisely prepared this volume for the press. There is nothing more melancholy than the idea that an intellectual life should close without some record of its strivings and its achievements. These productions cover a period of forty-five years, from 1830 to 1875. There is no dogma in these pure, fresh thoughts, which seem to well up with undisturbed serenity from a never failing source. The language is pure and natural, the images simple and homely, the pictures he draws vivid and personal. Reading to-day his beautiful sermon entitled the Windows towards Jerusalem, which opens with a picture of Daniel looking out towards the holy city from the windows of his distant home, the recollection sprung to the mind of the familiar figure of Lincoln looking out from his window in dreamy gaze towards the Southern horizon.

REMINISCENCES OF THE BENCH AND BAR OF MISSOURI. With an Appendix, containing Biographical Sketches of nearly all of the Judges and Lawyers who have passed away, together with many interesting and valuable letters never before published of Washington, Jefferson, Burr, Granger, Clinton and others, some of which throw additional light on the famous Burr conspiracy. By W. V. N. BAY. 8vo, pp. 611. F. H. THOMAS & Co. St. Louis, 1878.

In his introduction the accomplished Judge, who himself graced the Supreme Court of Missouri, points to one significant reason for the eminence which the early lawyers of the State attained. The State of Missouri was carved out of the territory of Louisiana, which had been successively under the rule of the Spaniards and French, with their different systems of law, and finally, when Napoleon made the cession to the United States, under the Civil Code, the boon which the soldier lawmaker, like Justinian, from whose legislation many of its provisions were drawn, bestowed upon his country. A successful practice at the bar, and even ordinary fitness for the bench required therefor a thorough knowledge of these languages with their Latin mother

Thomas H. Benton, noblest Roman of them all, leads the long list in an opening chapter; indeed, his name and that of Edward Bates, Attorney General of the United States under Lincoln, and the popular idol of Missouri, alone are national, although those of Francis P. Blair, Jr., Trusten Polk and Sam Caruthers will call up recollections to a wide circle of readers. The characteristics of the large number mentioned are succinctly described. The book is biographical in its construction and treatment, and invaluable as a reference volume, while specially interesting to the profession.

The historic student will find in the life of Rufus Easton a letter of Aaron Burr, of March, 1805, which throws some light on the conspiracy for which he was later tried, and an account of the conspiracy itself.

ESSAYS AND REVIEWS. By CHARLES HODGE, D.D. Selected from the Princeton Review. 8vo, pp. 633. ROBERT CARTER & BROTHERS. 1879.

As the contents of this volume were the selection made by Dr. Hodge himself, they may justly be regarded as those upon which he prefers that his fame should rest. Originally published in the Princeton Review, the great organ of the profession of Christian faith of which he was an acknowledged leader, they are chiefly of a religious character. Among those which are purely ethical and directly concern history are two striking papers, one on Slavery, the other on Emancipation. In that on Slavery, prompted by the arguments presented by Dr. Wayland's Elements of Moral Science and Channing's Es say, the latter in 1835, and written in the very height of the Abolition excitement, Dr. Hodge treats of the scriptural view of this once vexed question, and endeavors to hold the balance between those who believed the institution crim inal and unchristian and those who looked upon it as the highest form of white civilization. The sequel has shown that the institution was one of those that would not and could not be let alone. Its natural consequence was universal rule or ruin.

The second paper on Emancipation was called forth by the Rev. Dr. Breckinridge's paper on the Question of Negro Slavery and the New Constitution of Kentucky, issued in 1849. In this Dr Hodge traces the growing antagonism of the slave to the free States, and the formation

of a Southern party, which, to use the modern expression, was to rapidly make the South "solid" on the question. The old topics of amalgamation and colonization, once of such interest, are philosophically treated. We note the opinion that expatriation was an essential feature of any wise plan of emancipation. Recent events have shown that the South could not have parted with her labor, and would not have consented to any general scheme of colonization.

Such carefully considered arguments as these deserve and will hold a permanent place in the history of this moral conflict.

CIVILIZATION AND BARBARISM ILLUSTRATED BY ESPECIAL REFERENCE TO METACOMET AND THE EXTINCTION OF HIS RACE. By FREDERICK FREEMAN. 8vo, pp. 186. Printed for the author at the Riverside Press, Cambridge, 1878.

The purpose of the author has been to make a calm critical examination of the Indian question. In pleading the cause of Metacomet, Mr. Freeman in the outset secures the sympathy of the reader. With all our natural feeling for the trials and dangers to which our forefathers were exposed, that latent chord, which beats responsive to the touch of heroism, devotion, patriotism, cannot but be aroused by the spirited story of the Indian uprising of 1675. The Indians in New England at this time were estimated to have numbered ten thousand, of whom one-third warriors—behind them, be it remembered, an impenetrable waste. Metacomet was summoned to Plymouth. He refused to treat with the subjects of King Charles. We must not forget that the English never claimed their territory by right of discovery or conquest, but even in their later struggles with France based their right to domain on Indian grants. The Narragansett Indians were confined to lands set aside for them, and their leaving of the reservation in the Narragansett country was the cause of the war. Every Indian war was a danger. Had the fierce Mohawks joined their forces to the enemy, the issue at any time up to the beginning of the last century was a doubtful one. As it was the struggle was unequal. The Indians were divided among themselves; and in the surprise of his camp at Mount Hope Metacomet himself fell by the ball of an Indian renegade. The character of Metacomet, his fortitude under disaster, his abandonment to grief on the capture of his wife and son are told with feeling and spirit. In the concluding chapter Mr. Freeman protests against the cry of extermination as a reproach to humanity and an insult to Heaven, and earnestly pleads for the abandonment of the rifle and the use of the Bible as the true solution of the Indian problem. In this we heartily concur. We have conversed, however, with many excellent and sensible persons, who have passed years on the frontier, and are convinced that "there are Indians and Indians," and that no general rule can be adopted without modifications in special cases.

HISTORICAL FALLACIES REGARDING COLONIAL NEW YORK. An Address delivered before the Oneida Historical Society, Utica, at its Second Annual Meeting, January 14, 1879, by DOUGLAS CAMPBELL of New York. 8vo, pp. 32. F. J. TICKER. New York, 1879.

In this paper Mr. Campbell, who is devoting himself to the study of New York history with commendable zeal, has undertaken to clear up the cloud of prejudice which has until recently befogged our neighbors beyond the Connecticut. He accounts for this by the Dutch origin of the New York colony and her inferiority of population. These are hardly the true reasons. New York, as Mr. Seymour has shown in his recent paper on the Influence of New York on American Jurisprudence, lately printed in the Magazine [III. 217], had her full share of influence in the Colonial period, and her position made her the one point of unwavering interest throughout the revolutionary war. The reasons why her history has not been written are first, the inertness of the Dutch character, and secondly, that her directing minds in nearly every department of life, commerce, science, and literature, have been of New England origin. The New Yorker of to-day is rarely descended from the New Yorkers of the last century. None the less, however, will her history bear examination, and the earnestness of the new race of New Yorkers is rapidly atoning for the indifference of the older. The facts Mr. Campbell brings forward in proof of his claim have been stated before, but they bear repeating, and must be repeated until the "deaf shall hear."

ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY; MEN, EVENTS, LAWYERS, POLITICS AND POLITICIANS OF EARLY ROME. By D. E. WAGER. An Address delivered before the Oneida Historical Society, at Utica, N. Y., January 28 1879. 8vo, pp. 47. ELLIS H. ROBERTS & CO. Utica, 1879.

The town of Rome was organized in 1796. In this address its history has been traced in sketches, arranged in the chronological order of their arrival in the town from that time. In the first sketch of Major William Colbrath, who is styled "a jolly Irishman, who had ren-

dered service to the Colonies in the Revolutionary struggle," is an account of the formation of Oneida county, March 15, 1798, when the son of Erin was appointed its first sheriff. The other sketches are of Benjamin Wright, distinguished as an engineer of the eastern division of the canal; Mr. Geddes, surveying the western; George Huntington, who was a merchant at Fort Stanwix in 1793; Joshua Hatheway, who at sixteen served at Bennington under Stark, was graduated at Yale after the war, and was admitted to the Herkimer bar in 1795; Henry Huntington, who was second President of the Bank of Utica. The histories of all these run into the last century. The later men of distinction are James Lynch, Wheeler Barnes, James Sherman, Seth B. Roberts, Chester Hayden, Benjamin P. Johnson, Joseph B. Read, Samuel Beardsley, Daniel Wardwell, Hiram Dunn, Rev. Albert Barnes, John B. Jervis, Henry A. Foster and John Stryker, whose honors we have not space to enumerate. This is a first instalment to the history of Rome, comprising forty years, as the ancients would put it, "from the building of the city."

We take issue with Mr. Wager upon the statement in his introductory remarks, that the State of New York was considerably less democratic than any other State in the Union. There was certainly a strong country aristocratic party, but it did not control legislation, and popular rights were better understood here than in any other State; and we are mistaken if in the ranks of the Oneida Historical Society his statements do not challenge opposition. The question is not, was the Constitution of the State of New York liberal in its extension of elective franchise before 1822, but was it less liberal than those of its neighbors. Faith in the ballot is of slow growth. In her first constitution New York discarded the open for the secret ballot—the first step to enfranchisement.

FATHER MARQUETTE AT MACKINAW AND CHICAGO. A paper read before the Chicago Historical Society, October 15, 1878, by HENRY H. HURLBUT. 8vo, pp. 16. JANSEN, MCCLURG & CO. Chicago, 1878.

In this monograph may be found an interesting sketch of the life and voyages of James Marquette, who arrived at Quebec as a missionary of the Society of Jesus in 1666, and after two years study of the Indian languages, embarked for the River St. Mary, at the falls of which a mission was to be established under his direction. From this point he was chosen in 1669 to go to LaPoint, near the end of Lake Superior, to continue the labors of Father Allouez, and in 1671 accompanied the Hurons, who fled from a raid of the Sioux, to the Straits of Mackinaw. At the island here Mr. Hurlbut presumes Marquette settled, and established the first mission founded by him of St. Ignatius de Loyola, and thence in the spring of 1673 departed with Louis Joliet, the leader, on an expedition to the *great river*. Mr. Hurlbut takes issue with Dr. Duffield for not mentioning Joliet in his oration at Mackinaw last August, and for ignoring the fact that he led this expedition—claims that Joliet was selected by the Government of New France to explore the *great river*, and that Marquette was but an *ecclesiastic attaché*. The Mississippi, Mr. Hurlbut claims, was discovered by them both in June, 1673; Dr. Shea concurs in this view, and believes that La Salle had his information concerning the river when Joliet stopped at Fort Frontenac, where La Salle commanded, on his passage down Lake Ontario in 1674; but now comes Mr. Margry, who, on the authority of Anastase Douay, throws doubts upon the whole of this voyage. Douay distinctly says that there was no truth in its local descriptions, and that Joliet had disavowed the discovery; according to Margry, Hennepin confirms these doubts. The discussion will be of interest.

WEBSTER AND PINKNEY. A pamphlet by WILLIAM PINKNEY, Archbishop of Maryland, July 30, 1878. 4to, pp. 16. 1878.

In a note attached to this pamphlet the reverend gentleman expresses his regret at the death of Mr. Harvey, of which he had learned after it had been sent to press. The purpose of the pamphlet is to vindicate the fame of Mr. Pinkney from aspersions cast upon it by Mr. Harvey in a passage in his "Reminiscences and Anecdotes of Daniel Webster," published in the fall of 1877. Mr. Harvey reports that Mr. Webster told him that "he had on one occasion locked Mr. Pinkney up in one of the grand jury rooms of the capitol, and extorted from him as he stood trembling like an aspen leaf an humble apology, which was repeated next day in open court." The Reverend Mr. Pinkney expresses the "greatest admiration for Webster, the faintest echo of whose vast fame gives him pleasure," and his "deliberate judgment that Mr. Harvey is in error," and he brings collateral circumstances to prove the always difficult negative. In the first place he says "there are no grand jury rooms in the capitol, and never have been." This disposes of the "place where"—and the "time when" he shows must have been, from the correlative text, "between 1813 and 1817, during which period Mr. Webster and Mr. Pinkney were never engaged in any case in the Supreme Court, either on the same or opposite sides." Moreover, Webster himself bore testimony to

his admiration of Pinkney, at his own request following Goodloe Harper in a eulogy on his character at the time of his death, reported in the National Intelligencer, March 22, 1822.

The defence of his kinsman by the Archbishop is complete, and we are happy to have an opportunity to put it upon record. Its tone is admirable.

PAPERS OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF DELAWARE. I. Memorial Address on the Life and Character of Willard Hall. By Hon. DANIEL M. BATES. 8vo, pp. 60. THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF DELAWARE. Wilmington, 1879.

Immediately upon the death of Judge Hall, the first president of the Historical Society of Delaware, in the spring of 1875, his successor in office was requested to deliver an address upon his life and character. To this we owe the comprehensive and beautiful sketch before us, in which the intellectual and moral traits of this most excellent man and upright judge are analyzed in their own essence and their relation to the community and the law. Willard Hall was born in Westford, Massachusetts, in 1780, and descended from an ancestry of singular mental and physical vigor; his grandfather of the same name having been graduated from Harvard in 1722, and distinguished as a scholarly minister of the Congregational Church of Westford. Judge Hall was graduated at Harvard in 1800, and studied law with Mr. Dana. In those days the offices of the great lawyers were nurseries in which pupils received careful training, and became part of the continuing "office." In 1803 he was admitted to the New Hampshire bar. A speech in Congress of the elder Bayard, commending the bar of Delaware, attracted him to that State, where he soon acquired distinction among such men as Bayard, Rodney and McLane. He was soon called to positions of public trust; in 1812, Secretary of State; in 1816 and 1818, member of Congress; in 1822, State Senator, and in 1823, United States District Judge, an office which he held for forty-eight years, retiring in 871, at the age of ninety-one. In the course of this long tenure of office, in which he was distinguished for his conservatism, one act occurred which was of national importance. This was the discharge in 1866, under a writ of *habeas corpus*, of prisoners held at Fort Delaware by the military authorities of the United States, under a conviction and sentence by a Military Commission upon a charge of murder committed in South Carolina. The murdered persons were soldiers, the prisoners citizens. Judge Hall did not shrink from the responsibility of the decision which set the boundaries of civil and military rule, but granted the order—a judgment in accord with the common sense of the country, and which received the sanction of the Executive. The limited duties of his court left him some leisure for literary labor. In 1824, at the request of the Legislature, he began the digest and revision of the Statutes of the State, a work finished in 1829. He was for many years president of the Colonization Society of Delaware. To the last he retained the natural force and freshness of his mind, the warmth of his affection and his interest in the humanitarian objects of his long and useful career.

The sketch is a chaste and classical tribute from a graceful and appreciative pen.

THE BRIDE OF GETTYSBURG. An Episode of 1863 in three parts. By J. D. HYLTON. 8vo, pp. 172. Palmyra, N. Y., 1878.

We cannot undertake to inform the reader of what he may or may not find in this volume. If he realize all that the author expects, he will have a rare treat. In his preface Mr. Hylton tells us that "the book is only written for the perusal of true admirers of genuine poetry," and still further, that while he is "not so arrogant as to declare this the finest poetical production of the century, if it has its equal in beauty of thought and expression, he will thank any one who will be so kind as to show it to him." The purpose of the volume is beyond our comprehension. We can only say that the reader who looks for any historic allusions to the famous battle of Gettysburg will be disappointed.

AS IT MAY HAPPEN. A Story of American Life and Character. By TREBOR. 8vo, pp. 416. PORTER & COATES, Philadelphia [1879].

This is announced as a thoroughly American novel. While some of the characters remind the reader closely of Dickens, it would be hardly just to say that they are imitated. English nature repeats itself on this side of the water. Yet to us it seems that the peculiarities of Dibbs, who is the eccentric personage of the story, with his high-flown language and intensity of expression, is an exaggeration more likely to be met with abroad than here; on the other hand, female nature is drawn with grace and fine feeling, and the male with vigorous touches.

The story is complicated beyond naturalness or necessity, but there is great freshness and simplicity in some of the scenes between the young lovers.

POEMS OF PLACES. EDITED BY HENRY W. LONGFELLOW. AMERICA, NEW ENGLAND. VOLS. I. and II. 18mo, pp. 270–288. The Riverside Press. HOUGHTON, OSGOOD & Co. Boston, 1879.

These two little volumes of this charming and companionable series are wholly given to a selection of poems, descriptive of American localities. An introductory collection contains the most celebrated apostrophes to America from foreign and native pens, after which the most noted and beautiful places on our continent have presentation in turn. Here we find among the contributions the names not only of those who are dear to the popular heart, but of many of minor fame who deserve to hold familiar places. Simple and charming among these exquisite gems is the Newport Romance, bearing the signature of Bret Harte; but while we admire its true ballad construction and feeling, the historic muse whispers to us to inquire why the poet has converted Rochambeau, the General-in-Chief of the French contingent forces, into an Admiral.

This collection needs no praise at our hands. There is no man living so well fitted as Mr. Longfellow to make such a selection as this; none whose name carries such a weight of authority; and the well-known publishers are second to none in the taste and finish of their work.

POEMS OF PLACES. Edited by HENRY W. LONGFELLOW. AMERICA—MIDDLE STATES. 12mo, pp. 278. HOUGHTON, OSGOOD & Co. Boston, 1879.

In this volume poems relating to the Middle States alone find place, and they naturally partake of a descriptive character. Niagara has its full share of attention, and the charming sonnet of Lord Morpeth to the great cataract will attract many readers; so will the editor's exquisitely characteristic sonnet to the Tarrytown Churchyard, where Irving rests in the bosom of the scenes he loved so well.

New York City is not forgotten either in its history or the wondrous beauty of its surrounding waters. We dislike to be captious, but while we express sympathy with the sentiment, and admiration for the beauty of Hosmer's ode to Washington's Headquarters in New York, we take exception to the history expressed in the poem. There is no evidence that any building standing in New York was ever so occupied by Washington. He bade farewell to his officers at Fraunces' Tavern, but as far as research has yet served us he never made No. 1 Broadway, which is evidently alluded to, his headquarters.

PUBLICATIONS ANNOUNCED

MIDDLESEX GENEALOGIES. By T. B. WYMAN. Edited by H. H. EDES.

Everyone who has had anything to do with the study of New England genealogy knows of the irreparable loss to antiquarian research in the person of the late Thomas Bellows Wyman. Besides his ordinary labors, he had been engaged for forty years in the examination of Genealogies and Estates of Charlestown, in the County of Meddlesex, Massachusetts. His compilation, which will fill more than eleven hundred royal octavo pages, was complete, and forty pages had been printed when death surprised him in his labor in May, 1878. At his request, the editing of the manuscript fell to the hand of Mr. H. H. Edes of Boston, a gentleman whose qualification for the task is sufficiently shown in his designation by Mr. Wyman, who was certainly *facile princeps* among searchers. This work will have more than a local interest, since Charlestown, the mother of Boston, originally embraced within its limits a territory now divided into several distinct townships. Since Dr. Bond's Genealogies of Watertown no such valuable material upon this line of subject has been brought together.

The work will make two volumes, and we learn is limited to seven hundred copies, of which one hundred on large paper. The subscription list has already reached six hundred copies. It will appear some time during the month of May of this year (1879).

CYCLOPÆDIA OF AMERICAN HISTORY. By BENSON J. LOSSING. HARPER & BROS.

Dr. Benson J. Lossing, the well-known author of the Field Books of the Revolution and of the War of 1812, is now engaged upon a work which promises to be of extreme value not only to historical students, but as an addition to every library. This is a Cyclopædia of American History, from the days of the Aborigines to the close of the Centennial year. It will be published by the Harpers, and comprise about twelve hundred pages, with numerous maps and plans.

Dr. Lossing brings to the preparation of this volume advantages beyond any person of whom we have knowledge. American history in minute details, as well as its general relations, has been the study of his life; in addition to which he has personally visited the greater number of the historic scenes of the continent. From his own vast collection of original documents, added to a thorough knowledge of the published material, a comprehensive treatment of the subject may be expected. The volume will supply a wide gap in our reference library, and we learn will be ready in the fall. Its appearance is eagerly awaited.

OBITUARY

THE REV. LEONARD WOODS, D.D.

Late President of Bowdoin College

The death of this learned and excellent gentleman, whose name is familiar on both sides of the Atlantic as a ripe scholar in many fields of labor, would have received much more general notice but for his almost complete retirement not only from public life, but even from friendly society. The press notices of the usefulnsss of his long intellectual life have been meagre. It is therefore with the greatest satisfaction that we find an appropriate testimony to his rare mental and moral qualities in the proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society for January, when Mr. Charles Deane, who for many years was not only an intimate personal friend, but an earnest co-worker in his historical investigations, paid a warm tribute to his memory, which we quote entire.

"Mr. Deane paid a warm tribute to the character of Dr. Woods, dwelling upon his rare mental gifts, his superior scholarship, and the admirable qualities of his heart, which attached to him all who came within the sphere of his acquaintance. His brilliant qualities in conversation, his wit and humor, always tempered by his large benevolence and good nature, made his presence a benediction. He spoke of his early literary labors—in teaching, in writing and in translating—which were principally exercised in the field of theological exposition until the year 1839, when at the early age of thirty-two he became President of Bowdoin College. It was for those who had been educated under him in that institution, or those who had there shared with him the responsibility of teaching and of general administration for twenty-six years, to speak intelligently of what he had accomplished during that long period; and he would here mention an admirable notice of Dr. Woods in the "Boston Daily Advertiser," written, it is understood, by Professor Smyth of Andover, giving the testimony of one of Dr. Wood's pupils to the particular points referred to.

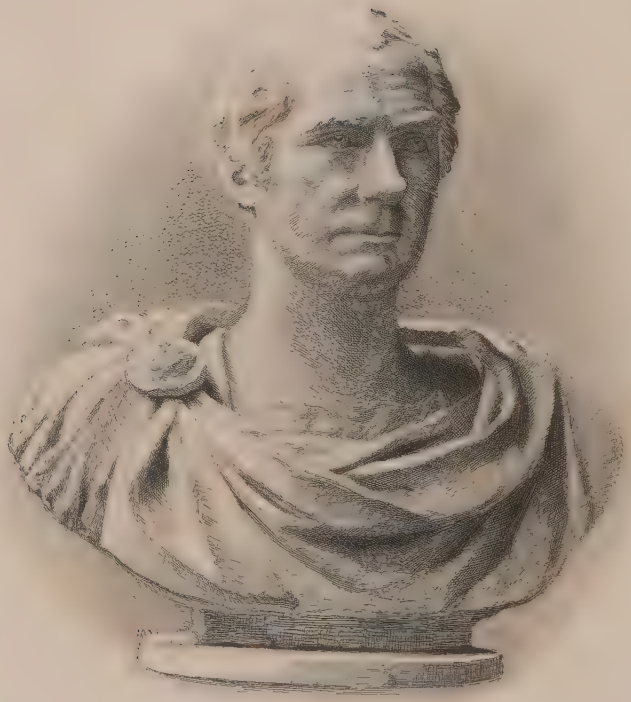
"After resigning the presidency of Bowdoin College in 1866, and while making his arrangements in the following year to spend some months in foreign travel, Dr. Woods received from the Governor of Maine a commission, in pursuance of the resolves of the Legislature in aid of the Maine Historical Society, authorizing him to procure materials from foreign archives, libraries and collections for the early history of the State. One of the results of his commission was a work, prepared by the late Dr. John G. Kohl of Bremen, Germany, for many years a Corresponding Member of this Society, which forms the first volume of the 'Documentary History of the Maine Historical Society,' an historical work of great value.

"Dr. Woods also secured at this time in England a copy of a valuable unpublished work of Richard Hakluyt, the distinguished collector and editor of voyages of discovery, which was reposing in the vast collection of Sir Thomas Phillipps, at Thirlstane House, Cheltenham, Gloucestershire; and on his return home in 1868, and after the publication in 1869 of the Kohl volume referred to, he devoted himself to preparing an introduction and notes to that work. This was comparatively a new field of study for Dr. Woods. Some years were spent by him in this labor, and what he had prepared needed, it is believed, only his final revision, when on the 8th of August, 1873, his library was consumed by fire, and with it the principal part of the evidences of his long editorial labor. The Hakluyt manuscript itself had already been stereotyped at Cambridge, and was safe. It was afterward published under the editorial supervision of another. [See Collections of the Maine Historical Society, second series, Documentary History, vol, ii., Editor's note.]

"Soon after the sad destruction of Dr. Woods' library (the apartment containing his books had only recently been built, and was just occupied by him) his health became seriously impaired, and he was soon wholly unfit for any literary labor. Some months ago his residence was transferred from Brunswick to Boston, and his last days were spent under the watchful care of an affectionate sister.

"In Dr. Woods' beautiful eulogy on Professor Cleaveland he says near its conclusion: 'Between the close of life's active services and the final rest of death, there often intervenes a dreary season of infirmity and decrepitude, in which the vital flame flickers faintly in its socket before it goes out. The old man often lives to witness the wreck of his powers, and to see himself laid away on the shelf long before he is laid in his grave. From such a fate, which to him would have been more dreadful than death itself, he was happily exempted.' Professor Cleaveland was preparing to meet his class for recitation the very morning on which he died. It may be said that 'he died with his harness on.' With Dr. Woods it was otherwise. It may be doubted if he himself was conscious of the mental wreck which overtook him long before his physical death. But his friends lived to witness, to use his own language, the wreck of his powers, and to see him laid away on the shelf long before he was laid in his grave.

"Dr. Woods was never married; but he was singularly fortunate during his long residence at Brunswick in his home, where he secured the highest offices of friendship, where culture and refinement prevailed, and where, during the weary season of the gradual obscuration of his brilliant faculties, gentle hands administered all the solace which it was possible to bestow."



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GEORGE CLINTON

GEORGE Clinton was of English descent. His paternal great-grandfather, William Clinton, was an officer in the Royal Army under Charles I., and his great-grandfather on his mother's side was a captain in the army of the Protector. His father, Charles Clinton, emigrated to America in the fall of 1729, and in the following spring, in company with two friends, moved to Ulster county, N. Y., where, at the foot of the Highlands, he founded a settlement, to which he gave the name of Little Britain. At this place his son, the subject of the present sketch, was born on the twenty-sixth day of July, 1739.

Young Clinton early manifested a decided predilection for military life; first taking a cruise in a privateer at the beginning of the old French war, and subsequently, when the campaign of 1757 had fired the colonists to retrieve their disasters, accompanying his father and brother James as a lieutenant in the successful expedition of Bradstreet against Fort Frontenac the succeeding year. Upon the disbanding of the colonial forces at the close of the war, he went to New York City, and entered the office of that able and experienced jurist, William Smith, under whose tutelage he acquired the thorough knowledge of law which was so valuable to him in after life. Returning to his birth-place upon the completion of his studies, he settled down to the practice of his profession; and it was not long before his abilities were recognized by an appointment to a clerkship by the Colonial Governor, Admiral George Clinton (after whom he had been named), and by his election in 1768 to the Assembly of his native State.

The legislative body in which he began his political life was in its action by far the most important of any that ever assembled in the Colony of New York. The right of Parliament to tax America was still discussed with great freedom in all the Colonies, but in none with more vigor than in Massachusetts. In February, 1768, the Assembly of that province had addressed a circular letter, drafted by Samuel Adams, to her sister Colonies, in which the "great evils to which the inhabitants

of America were subjected from the operation of several Acts of Parliament, imposing taxes upon them," were set forth, and their cooperation solicited in obtaining redress. This proceeding gave great offense to the Ministry, and Lord Hillsborough forthwith addressed a letter upon the subject to the several Colonial Governors, requesting that their Assemblies treat the circular letter with silent contempt. Such was the state of affairs when on the 14th of November Sir Henry Moore, the Governor of New York, laid before the House the Earl of Hillsborough's letter forbidding correspondence with Massachusetts, and called upon it to render a cheerful obedience to the wishes of the Home Secretary. This action of the Governor was met by a warm remonstrance from the Assembly, and when a few days after the Governor threatened to dissolve it in case of its not complying, it unhesitatingly refused obedience. The bold stand thus assumed was warmly supported by Clinton, who, from the breaking out of the troubles between the mother country and her Colonies, had, as one of the Whig minority of New York, ably opposed the arbitrary measures of the British Ministry. A series of articles moreover, which shortly before appeared, under the title of "Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania to the inhabitants of the British Colonies," had paved the way for a fearless utterance against ministerial oppression. Accordingly, on the last day of the year the Assembly passed a series of strong constitutional resolutions, among which was one declaring "that the House had an undoubted right to correspond and consult with any of the neighboring Colonies on any matter, subject or thing whatever, whereby they should conceive the rights and liberties of the House to be in any way affected." These resolutions gave high displeasure, and Sir Henry Moore, having convened the Assembly in the City Hall on the afternoon of the 3d of January, 1769, dissolved it by a speech of evident irritation, yet of affected regret and sorrow at the occasion demanding the summary measure. Writs for a new election were immediately issued, returnable on the 14th of February. The people, however, sustained the action of their representatives, and all the former members, with the exception of six, were returned by overwhelming majorities.

Such was the result of the first direct appeal of the Crown to the people on the subject of the great constitutional principles of liberty, which were now beginning to agitate the political waters to their deepest fountains. Among those returned to the new Assembly, which met on the 4th of April, was George Clinton. He continued a member of this body until its end in 1775, during which period Philip Schulyer

and himself—the "Pym and Hampden of that Colonial Parliament"—fought bravely against the loyalist majority. Nor was the stand thus taken by Clinton a slight proof of his moral courage. There is reason for believing that the Colonial authorities would have cheerfully bestowed upon him lucrative offices had he ranged himself on their side. Many of his intimates were Tories; his old preceptor and friend, William Smith, after long wavering, finally gave in his allegiance to the Crown; and the son of his father's friend, Sir Henry Clinton, received shortly after the beginning of the contest a high command in the Royal army. At the same time, however, his efforts were not unappreciated by the Whigs. So commanding had his influence become with that party, and so resolutely had he maintained the cause of the Colonies against the Crown, that on the 22d of April, 1775, he was elected by the New York Provincial Convention one of the delegates to the second Continental Congress, and took his seat in that body on the 15th of the following May.

Although there are no specific data in regard to the course pursued by Clinton while a member of the Continental Congress, yet, from the general tenor of his conduct while in the New York Colonial Assembly, it can fairly be inferred, not only that his influence was great in moulding the sentiments of that body in the right direction, but that he strongly favored independence. To think otherwise, would be to accuse him of grave inconsistency—especially as he had been elected a delegate to the Congress chiefly on account of his pronounced views against the Crown.

It has been stated, to the discredit of Clinton and also of New York, that on the 2d of July, 1776, when the vote of Independence was actually taken, New York (the vote was by Colonies, not by individuals) did not vote, the delegates from that Colony under their own signatures, Clinton at their head, officially reporting to their constituents as follows: "The important question of Independence was agitated yesterday in a committee of the whole Congress, and this day will be finally determined in the House. We know the line of our conduct on this occasion; we have your instructions and will faithfully pursue them." But this course was entirely proper; and for the New York delegates to have acted otherwise would have been to disobey the express commands of the New York Provincial Congress, which they represented. The Continental Congress resolved on the 15th of May, 1776, to recommend all the Colonies to adopt new forms of government. This was tantamount to independence. Accordingly, the New

York delegates, on the 8th of June, 1776, wrote to the New York Provincial Congress to ascertain its sentiments on the momentous question which was expected to come up shortly in Congress. Meanwhile, on the 19th of June, a new Provincial Congress was elected for the express purpose of acting on the question of independence, as the previous one, to whom the letter of the delegates was addressed, did not consider itself authorized so to do. The old Provincial Congress continued to sit for some days after the new one was chosen; but of course can be excused for not authorizing its delegates to vote for independence. They purposely left it to the new Provincial Congress, which met at White Plains on the 8th of July, 1776, and which, on the very next day, passed *unanimously* a resolution approving of the Declaration of Independence. The fact upon which considerable stress has been laid—that the New York delegates in the Continental Congress did not vote for the adhesion of their State—is a purely private and local affair between themselves and their constituents, and does not, in the slightest degree, affect the question of the *willingness* of New York to declare itself independent. There was very little Toryism that dared to show itself to the public at this late date. Most of the leading loyalists had either left the State or were in hiding; and indeed, as a matter of fact, New Yorkers were as nearly unanimous at the time as New Jersey or Pennsylvania. Finally, when the vote was taken for formal independence, the New York delegates who, as we have seen, could not act for their State, were probably better disposed than those of Pennsylvania, who could act, and yet were intending to vote four against independence and three for it; and it was only by great persuasion that two of the four were induced to absent themselves so as to turn the minority into a majority. Therefore, although the *Colony* of New York failed, for the above reasons, to vote, the *State* failed not to act for liberty and independence.

Clinton, however, during the year 1776 was able to be with the Congress but a brief period, from about the the 7th of June to the 7th of July, the invasion of New York when but few military men were available, imperatively calling him to her defence, and preventing his signing the Declaration on the 15th of July. On his arrival home he found a letter awaiting him from General Washington, informing him that the British ships had successfully sailed past New York, and directing him to take post in the Highlands. The experience which he had gained in his first school of arms under Bradstreet he now used to advantage. The English fleet soon made its appearance in the Tappan

Zee; and during the remainder of the summer he was engaged in guarding the passes and forts of the Highlands with a few regiments of militia.

In the spring of 1777 Clinton was a deputy to the New York Provincial Congress, which framed the first State Constitution, but was again called into the field by Congress, who, appreciating his excellent judgment in organizing the militia for the defense of the State the preceding summer, appointed him, on the 25th of March, 1777, a brigadier-general in the Continental army.

The period when Clinton assumed for the second time the command of the Highlands was most critical. It was known that Sir Henry Clinton intended to form a junction with Burgoyne at Albany, at which city the latter General was daily expected; and at the moment it seemed as though it depended entirely on Clinton to arrest the progress of the enemy. This he seems fully to have realized; for as soon as reliable intelligence reached him of the English army being on the move, he prorogued the Legislature, then sitting at Kingston, and hastened to his post at the gate of the Highlands; first, however, ordering out half of the militia of New York, with the assurance that they should be relieved in one month by the other half. The British fleet, convoying between three and five thousand men, and commanded by Commodore Holtham, moved up the Hudson early in October, 1777, destined to operate in the first instance, against Forts Montgomery and Clinton, near the southern entrance to the Highlands. These fortresses had been constructed chiefly for the purpose of preventing ships from ascending the river, and were not defensible in the rear. They were commanded by George Clinton, with the assistance of General James Clinton, his brother.

Sir Henry Clinton having first landed a portion of his force on Verplanck's Point, as though he intended an attack upon Peekskill, early in the morning of the 6th of October, crossed the river under cover of a fog and landed his troops at Stoney Point, twelve miles below the forts. A small advanced party of the Americans was met and attacked at about ten o'clock, when within two and a half miles of the fort. This party was driven in, having returned the enemy's fire. Having arrived within a mile of the forts Sir Henry divided his troops into two columns; the one, consisting of nine hundred men under Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, was destined for the attack on Fort Montgomery; the other, under the immediate command of Sir Henry Clinton, was to storm the stronger post of Fort Clinton. Ascertaining that the enemy were advancing along the west side of the mountain to attack his rear, Clinton ordered a detachment of

upward of one hundred men, under Colonel Lamb, together with a brass field-piece and fifty men more, to take up a strong position in advance. They were soon sharply engaged, and another detachment of an equal number was sent to their assistance. They kept their field-piece sharply playing upon the enemy's advancing column, and were only compelled to give way by the point of the bayonet, spiking their field-piece before they relinquished it. Pressing rapidly onward, the British vigorously attacked both forts upon all sides. The fire was maintained with spirit and without cessation until about five o'clock in the afternoon, when a flag approaching, Lieutenant-Colonel Livingston was ordered to receive it. The officer was the bearer of a peremptory summons to surrender, as he alleged, to prevent the effusion of blood. Nor would he treat unless upon the basis of the surrender of the garrison as prisoners of war, in which case he was authorized to assure them of good usage. The proposition being rejected "with scorn," in about ten minutes the attack was renewed and kept up till after dark, when the enemy forced the American lines and redoubts at both forts; and the garrisons, determined not to surrender, undertook to fight their way out. The last attack of the British grenadiers, under Lord Rawdon, was desperate; but the Americans, militia as well as regulars, resisted with great spirit, and favored by the darkness, many of them escaped. Clinton himself leaped a precipice in the dark and made his way to the river bank. Here he found his brother James, who had just discovered a small skiff, and who now urged him to jump in and make his way across the river. Clinton indignantly refused to go unless his brother accompanied him. This was impossible, as the boat would not safely hold more than one; and to end the dispute James fairly pushed his brother into the boat, shoved her off, and springing on a horse wandering loose near by galloped away. Clinton passed over the river to Putnam's headquarters; and James, having dashed through a squad of English troops, by one of whom he was severely wounded in the thigh by a bayonet, made his way over the mountains to his home in Orange County, where he was joined the next day by Clinton and about two hundred of the survivors of the battle. Of the British forces Colonel Grant, Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell and Count Grabowski, a Polish nobleman serving as a volunteer under Sir Henry, were slain. "The presence of an intelligent commanding officer of reasonable skill," says an able military critic in summing up this engagement, "or the absolute control of the posts by Governor Clinton, would have prevented the loss of Forts Clinton and Montgomery."

Notwithstanding, however, his apparent defeat, Clinton had in reality won a victory. It is true that Sir Henry soon after forced the evacuation of Fort Constitution, opposite West Point, and that General Vaughan, with a strong detachment, proceeded as far as Æsopus (Kingston), which he laid in ashes; still the heroism displayed in the defence of the Highlands gave the English General such a distaste for further fighting as effectually to prevent his advance upon Albany. Nor was it Clinton's stubborn resistance alone that aided in defeating the enemy's well-laid combinations. Had Sir Henry succeeded in forwarding to Burgoyne intelligence of his progress up the river, the latter, encouraged by the near approach of the British troops, would unquestionably have risked another battle, thus rendering the issue of that campaign perhaps doubtful. The spy, however, whom Sir Henry sent for that purpose, was happily caught and brought before Clinton, who, after forcing from him by an emetic a silver bullet, containing the encouraging message of the English General, hung him on an apple-tree in sight of the burning village of Kingston. Meanwhile Clinton did not allow his defeat to paralyze his efforts. "I shall endeavor," he wrote to General Gates on the 9th of October, "to keep between them (the British) and your army with two Continental regiments and some militia, and hope by this means to prevent them marching to Albany." Convinced also by his late experience that the Hudson should be more effectually guarded, he carefully examined the present site of West Point with a view to its thorough defence; and although elected the preceding June as the first Governor of his native State, he did not quit the field until the news of Burgoyne's surrender had forced Sir Henry Clinton, disappointed and chagrined, to take refuge within his lines in the vicinity of New York. That he lost no ground in the affections of his countrymen by his unsuccessful defence of the Highland forts, but rather gained in their confidence, is shown by his reelection as Governor in 1780, an office he retained by successive reelections until 1795. Even then he was strongly urged again to become a candidate, but having, as he said, been in the public service for thirty years, he declined, and retired to private life. From the period of his first occupation of the gubernatorial chair until its final relinquishment, he exhibited great energy of character, and rendered important services both in a civil and military capacity.

Up to the year 1780 the people of the lower section of the Mohawk Valley, severely as they had experienced the calamities of the war, had by no means reached the full measure of their suffering; but it was

their lot in the course of that year repeatedly to experience the tender mercies of an enemy, exasperated by the devastations of Sullivan's expedition, armed with knife, tomahawk and brand, and to see their fairest villages laid waste, their fields desolated, and their dwellings reduced to ashes. The first blow was as sudden as it was unexpected. On Sunday, the 21st of May, at dead of night, Sir John Johnson entered the north part of Johnstown at the head of five hundred men, composed of some British troops, a detachment of his own regiment of Royal Greens, and about two hundred Indians and Tories. Sir John had penetrated the country by way of Lake Champlain to Crown Point, and thence by Lake Scaron (Schroon Lake) through the woods to the Sacondaga River; and so unawares had he stolen upon the sleeping inhabitants that he arrived in the heart of the country undiscovered, except by the resident loyalists, who were probably in the secret. His raid was entirely unopposed, and after several murders of peculiar atrocity, committed by his followers, he was allowed to retreat with a large number of prisoners—his path being lighted up by the conflagration of the dwellings of his old neighbors—unmolested save by Captain Putnam and four men, who hung upon his rear and observed his course for a distance of twenty-five miles.

Governor Clinton was at Kingston at the time of the invasion. Hastening to Albany on the first rumor of the intelligence, he collected such militia and other forces as he could obtain, and moved to Lake George with a view to intercept Sir John. It was supposed that the course of the enemy might possibly lie in the direction of Oswegatchie, and for the purpose of striking him upon such a march Colonel Van Schaick, with eight hundred men, followed him by the way of Johnstown. Descending Lake George to Ticonderoga, the Governor was joined by a body of the militia from the New Hampshire Grants. But the pursuit was bootless. The marauders succeeded in reaching Crown Point, whence, taking to their batteaux, they escaped down the lake to St. John's, and transferred their captives in safety to the fortress of Chamblée. But the desire of vengeance on the part of the savages was not yet satisfied. Another and more extensive expedition against the Mohawk Valley was therefore planned and carried into execution in October of the same year under the auspices of Sir John Johnson, Joseph Brant and *Corn-Planter*, the famous Seneca warrior. The moment that the tidings of the appearance of Sir John in the Schoharie settlements reached Albany, General Robert Van Rensselaer, at the head of a strong body of militia, pushed on by forced marches to encounter him, accompanied

by Governor Clinton. Meanwhile Colonel Brown in a smart skirmish, and at the expense of his own life, had checked the invaders. General Van Rensselaer arrived shortly after, and pressed forward in pursuit as far as Fort Herkimer, when he was overtaken by Clinton, who did not, however, interfere with the command. Governor Clinton suggested further pursuit, and Van Rensselaer started on the track of the enemy. That General, however, having from some unaccountable reason turned back after advancing a short distance, Sir John was enabled to fall rapidly back by way of Onondaga Lake upon Oswego, and thus make good his retreat.

In all of these efforts for the defence of his State, Clinton was ably seconded by his friend Philip Schuyler, his attachment to whom seems to have begun when they were companions-in-arms at the siege of Fort Frontenac in 1758; and on this occasion particularly Schuyler "was in continual correspondence with the Governor from his home at Saratoga, and offered freely for the public use whatever he possessed that was needed. 'All my cattle fit for the knife,' he wrote to Clinton, at Albany, on the 20th of October, 'are already killed, and I have sent to try and collect some more, but I fear a supply will arrive too late;' and when the Governor returned to Poughkeepsie, after the invasion had ceased, Schuyler kept him fully informed of every important event in Northern and Western New York."

The year following these invasions (1781) brought with it no relaxation of Clinton's vigilance. The air was filled with Indian alarms, and rumors of projected movements of the British were rife; on the northern frontier especially another storm seemed about to break. "The enemy's morning and evening guns at Ticonderoga," wrote Schuyler to General James Clinton, under date of May 21st, "have been distinctly heard near Fort Anne for three or four days past." At the same time came equally alarming intelligence that an expedition, under Sir John Johnson, was meditated against Pittsburg; while to render affairs still more complicated, the troubles between New York State and the Green Mountains Boys, on account of the New Hampshire Grants, which during the common peril had smouldered, burst out afresh.

Although the Vermonters had formed themselves into an independent State Government, the Legislature of New York still attempted to assert its right of jurisdiction, although it made liberal proffers of compromise in regard to titles of land—offering to recognize those which had previously been in dispute. A proclamation to

this effect, conceived in the most liberal spirit, had been issued by Governor Clinton in February, 1778, avowing, however, in regard to the contumacious "the rightful supremacy of New York over their persons and property, as disaffected subjects." But like every preceding effort, either of force or conciliation, the present was of no avail. Ethan Allen issued a counter proclamation to the people of the Grants, and the work of their own independent organization proceeded without serious interruption. They were the more encouraged to persevere in this course, from an impression that although Congress could not then sanction proceedings in regard to New York that were clearly illegal, the New England members, and some of the Southern also, would nevertheless not be very deep mourners at their success.

It must be confessed that the action of Congress was such as to give rise to unpleasant suspicions. "So long ago as the month of August last," wrote Clinton to President Jay on the 7th of June, 1779, "I remonstrated to Congress, through General Washington, on the conduct of Brigadier-General Starke, then commanding at Albany, for receiving from the revolted subjects of this State several of its citizens, who had been apprehended and destined to banishment by Colonel Allen and his associates, and for detaining them under military confinement. To this atrocious insult, on the civil authority of this State, Congress, though acquainted with it, has not to this day thought proper to pay the least attention. Nor can I forbear observing that the present inattention of Congress on this point strikes me with additional surprise, when I consider this is not the first instance in which their officers of high rank have aimed a bold stab at the honor and authority of this State." And notwithstanding the continual remonstrances of Clinton through Jay to Congress, that body was in no haste apparently to right New York. Jay, it is true, wrote Clinton from time to time to the effect that "our New England brethren appear sincerely disposed to terminate these unhappy disorders;" but this was a general phrase that meant nothing. At length Congress passed a resolution, appointing a committee to visit the Grants, and confer with the Vermonters; in short what at the present time would be called an "Investigating Committee." This, however, was extremely distasteful to the New York Legislature, and Clinton, more sensible than some statesmen of a later day, protested strongly against it, on the ground that *action*, and not *talk*, was what was needed. "However pure," he added, "the intention of Congress may have been in this resolution for appointing a committee to confer with the revolted citizens of this State, I am appre-

hensive it will by no means produce the salutary effects for which I suppose it was calculated." Still, although Clinton so wrote, it is evident that fears of a combination against his own State gave the writer considerable uneasiness. "I presume," the Governor wrote again to the New York delegates in Congress, "it is unnecessary to inform you that the Vermont business is now arrived at a crisis, or to urge any arguments to induce your utmost exertions in obtaining the sense of Congress without delay. The Legislature will meet on Tuesday next, and in the meantime I shall order the one thousand men, destined for the defence of the frontiers and to complete the Continental battalions, to march to Brattleborough for the protection of that and the adjacent towns, unless the interposition of Congress shall render this measure unnecessary." And on the 29th of October of the same year (1779), in a letter to James Duane from Poughkeepsie, he intimated that, "in the event of a certain contingency, the New York delegates would be withdrawn from Congress, and the resources of the State, which have been so lavishly afforded to the Continent, be withheld for the defence of New York." He also in an earnest letter called the attention of Washington to the subject, saying plainly, that in view of the danger which threatened New York, he "must request that your Excellency will be pleased to give the necessary directions for returning within the State the six brass 6-pounders, together with their apparatus, which the State lent for the use of the army in 1776, as soon as possible." He also in the same letter severely commented upon the conduct of Ethan Allen in seizing and imprisoning the civil and military officers of New York State in the county of Cumberland; and the Commander-in-Chief issued orders to General Schuyler to arrest him in the event of certain contingencies." The latter, says Mr. Lossing in his Life of Schuyler, shared in Clinton's apprehensions, and on the 31st of October he wrote to the Governor as follows:

"The conduct of some people to the eastward is alarmingly mysterious. A flag, under pretext of settling a cartel with Vermont, has been on the Grants. Allen has disbanded his militia, and the enemy in number of sixteen hundred are rapidly advancing toward us. * * * Entreat General Washington for more Continental troops, and let me beg of your Excellency to hasten up here."

Meanwhile the causes of irritation became more and more frequent and exasperating, until in the year 1781 the parties were again on the verge of open hostilities. The people of the Grants, as they had grown in strength had increased in arrogance, until they had extended their

claims to the Hudson River; and it was no diminution of the perplexities of New York that strong indications appeared in several of the northern towns, to which the people of the Grants had previously interposed not even a shadow of a claim, of a disposition to go over to Vermont.

On the other hand, Governor Clinton, inflexibly determined to preserve the disputed jurisdiction, was exerting himself to the utmost for that object. In the spring of this year (1781) he transmitted a special message to the Legislature, then sitting at Poughkeepsie, containing important information respecting the designs of the Vermonters, by which it appeared that Dr. Smith (a brother of the historian) was actively engaged in fermenting disaffection, and had held interviews with Ethan Allen upon the subject in Albany. Allen, it is true, pretended at the time that his visit to Albany was solely for the purpose of waiting on the Governor to receive his answer to a petition which the Vermonters had laid before the Assembly; but Clinton wisely mistrusted his errand, and refused either to see him or hold any intercourse with him whatever. In order, moreover, to bring the question of jurisdiction to the test, several persons, by the Governor's order, were arrested later in the summer, within the territory of the Grants, under the pretext of some military delinquency. This procedure was applying the brand to the powder. Governor Chittenden lost no time in writing to Captain Van Rensselaer demanding the release of the prisoners taken from the Grants, asserting their "determination to maintain the government they had set up," and threatening that in the event of an invasion of the territory of New York by the common enemy, unless these prisoners were given up, they would render no assistance to New York. Nor was this all. While the country was threatened by invasion both from the north and the west, the spirit of the Vermont insurgents began to spread among the militia in the northern towns east of the Hudson, belonging to General Gansevoort's own brigade. Thus, on the one hand, General Starke was calling upon him for assistance against the enemy apparently approaching from Lake Champlain, and on the other, Governor Clinton was directing him to quell the spirit of insubordination along the line of the New Hampshire Grants; and both of these duties were to be discharged with a knowledge that a portion of his own command was infected with the insurgent spirit. Added to which he was privately informed that the Green Mountain Boys were maturing a plot for his abduction. Meanwhile, the Government of the Grants had effected an organization of their own militia; and disclosures

had been made to the Government of New York, imputing to the leading men of the Grants a design, in the event of a certain contingency, of throwing the weight of their own forces into the scale of the Crown. This was the position of affairs when Governor Clinton addressed to General Gansevoort the following letter:

POUGHKEEPSIE, Oct. 18, 1781.

Dear Sir:

Your letter of the 15th instant was delivered to me on the evening of the 16th. I have delayed answering it, in hopes that the Legislature would ere this have formed a quorum, and that I might have availed myself of their advice on the subject to which it relates; but as this is not yet the case, and it is uncertain when I shall be enabled to lay the matter before them, I conceive it might be improper longer to defer expressing my own sentiments to you on this subject.

The different unwarrantable attempts, during the Summer, of the people on the Grants to establish their usurped jurisdiction, even beyond their former claim, and the repetition of it (alluded to in your letter,) in direct opposition to a resolution of Congress injurious to this State and favorable to their project of independence, and at a time when the common enemy are advancing, can only be accounted for by what other parts of their conduct have given us too much reason to suspect —disaffection to the common cause. On my part, I have hitherto shown a disposition to evade entering into any altercation with them, that might, in its most remote consequences, give encouragement to the enemy, and expose the frontier settlements to their ravages; and from these considerations alone I have submitted to insults which otherwise would not have been borne with; and I could have wished to have continued this kind of conduct until the approaching season would have secured us against the incursions of the common enemy. But as from the accounts contained in Colonel Van Rensselaer's letter, it would appear that the militia embodying under Mr. Chittenden's orders are for the service of the enemy, and that their first object was to make you a prisoner, it would be unjustifiable to suffer them to proceed. It is therefore my desire that you maintain your authority throughout every part of your brigade, and for this purpose, that you carry the laws of the State into execution against those who shall presume to disobey your lawful orders. I would only observe that these sentiments are founded on an idea that the accounts given by Colonel Van Rensselaer in his letter may be relied on; it being still my earnest desire, for the reasons above explained, not to do any thing that will bring matters to extremities, at least before the close of the campaign, if it can consistently be avoided. * * * * * *

I am, with great respect and esteem,

Dear Sir, your most obed't serv't

Brig. Gen. Gansevoort. GEO. CLINTON.

The apprehension of Clinton was by no means groundless. Indeed,

there was at this time too much reason to fear that treason was deeply and extensively at work; and from the temper of great numbers of the people, and the carriage of the disaffected, there was just cause to dread that, should the enemy again invade the country, either from the north or the west, his standard would be joined by much larger numbers of people than would have rallied beneath it at any former period. These fears received additional confirmation by the statements, under oath, of two prisoners who had escaped from Canada in the autumn of the present year—John Edgar and David Abeel. The substance of the statements of these men was, that several of the leading men of the New Hampshire Grants were forming an alliance with the King's officers in Canada. Among these leaders were Ethan and Ira Allen and the two Fays, and their consultations with the British agents were sometimes held at Castleton, on the Grants, and sometimes in Canada. Mr. Abeel's information was that the Grants were to furnish the King with fifteen hundred men, to be under the command of Ethan Allen, who was then in Canada upon that business. A third account, submitted to the Legislature at this time by Clinton, was somewhat different and more in detail. In this paper it was stated, "first, that the territory claimed by the Vermontese should be formed into a distinct Colony or Government; secondly, that the form of government should be similar to that of Connecticut, save that the nomination of the Governor should be vested in the Crown; thirdly, that they should be allowed to remain neutral, unless the war should be carried within their own territory; fourthly, they were to raise two battalions, to be in the pay of the Crown, but to be called into service only for the defense of the Colony; fifthly, they were to be allowed a free trade with Canada. General Haldimand had not deemed himself at liberty to decide definitively upon propositions of so much importance, and had accordingly transmitted them to England for the royal consideration. An answer was then expected." Such was the purport of the intelligence, and such was the weight of the testimony, that Governor Clinton did not hesitate to assert that they "proved a treasonable and dangerous intercourse and connexion between the leaders of the revolt in the northeastern part of the State and the common enemy.

The Legislature of the Grants assembled at Charlestown in October, about which time General St. Leger, agreeable to an arrangement with Allen and Fay, ascended the lake with a strong force to Ticonderoga, where he rested. Meanwhile, a rumor of the capture of Cornwallis and his army at Yorktown had such an effect upon the Vermonters as

to cause Allen and Fay to write to the British Commissioners, with St. Leger, that it would be imprudent at that particular juncture to promulgate the royal proclamation, and urging delay to a more auspicious moment. The messenger with these despatches had not been longer than an hour at the headquarters of St. Leger at Ticonderoga before the rumor respecting Cornwallis was confirmed by an express. All ideas of further operations in that quarter were, therefore, instantly abandoned; and before evening of the same day St. Leger's troops were reembarked, and with a fair wind he sailed immediately back to St. John's.

With the return of St. Leger to St. John's all active operations ceased with the enemy at the north; but the difficulties of the State Government with the New Hampshire Grants were on the increase, and the controversy ran so high that by the first of December an insurrection broke out in the regiments of Colonel John Van Rensselaer and Colonel Henry K. Van Rensselaer, in the northeastern towns of the State. These disturbances arose in Schaghticoke, Hoosic, St. Coick's and the parts adjacent, belonging then to the county of Albany, but claimed by the Government of the Grants. General Gansevoort was apprised of the insurrection on the fifth. He at once directed Colonels Yates and H. K. Van Rensselaer, whose regiments at that time were the least disaffected, to collect such troops as they could, and repair to St. Coick to the assistance of Colonel John Van Rensselaer. An express being dispatched to Clinton, at Poughkeepsie, with the news, and a request for directions what course to pursue in the emergency, the return of the messenger brought very explicit orders from the indominable Governor. "I perfectly approve of your conduct," said Clinton, "and have only to add, that should the force already detached prove insufficient to quell the insurrection, you will make such addition to it as to render it effectual. I have transmitted to General Robert Van Rensselaer the information, and have directed him, in case it should be necessary, on your application to give assistance from his brigade." Although the fact had not been stated in the dispatches forwarded to Governor Clinton, that the movement had originated in the Grants, yet the Governor was at no loss at once to attribute it to the "usurped government of that pretended State;" and it was his resolute determination, as he expressed it, to oppose force to force, and in regard to the Grants themselves, to "repel force by force." On the 16th, the day after receiving Clinton's instructions, Gansevoort took the field himself, repairing in the first instance to the headquarters of Starke at Saratoga (Schuylerville), in order to obtain a detachment of troops and a

field piece. But Starke was lukewarm; his troops, he said, were too naked to move from their quarters, and he pleaded the impropriety of his interfering without an order from General Heath. Gansevoort then crossed over to the east side of the river in order to rouse the militia in Hoosic. His efforts, however, were fruitless. None of the militia responded, and only eighty men could be depended on out of the four regiments of Yates, Henry K. Van Rensselaer and Van Vechten. Indeed of the latter regiment, only the Colonel, a few officers and one private could be prevailed on to march. Under these discouraging circumstances Gansevoort was compelled to relinquish the expedition, and the insurgents remained the victors, to the no small terror of those of the inhabitants who were well disposed, inasmuch as they were apprehensive of being taken prisoners and carried away, as had been the case with others, should they refuse to take the oath of allegiance to the Government of Vermont.

Although Clinton had thus failed to subdue the sturdy mountaineers, a task that the Colonial Governors of New York for thirty years had been unable to accomplish, his ill-success was owing to the force of circumstances, and not to lack of ability. His position during all the controversy had in truth been most trying; for this trouble with the Vermonters was in effect a serious insurrection within his own State, calling for his closest attention, occurring too at a time when he was endeavoring by every possible means to assist the General Government in her war against the common enemy. This fact was recognized by Washington, who, throughout the war and to the close of his life, continued to place implicit confidence in Clinton's judgment. He was consulted at every important step in the Sullivan campaign, and was kept informed of the progress made by St. Clair in his treaties with the western tribes. Nor were these marks of confidence merely of respect to his professional opinions. The cordial regard in which he was held by Washington is shown, not only by the solicitude with which the latter watched over the safety of his person, but in the circumstance that almost his first act on retiring into private life, was to write to him as one upon whose affectionate sympathy he could rely. "The scene, my dear friend," said he in a letter to Clinton, written three days after his arrival at Mount Vernon, "is at length closed. I feel myself eased of a load of public care, and hope to spend the remainder of my days in cultivating the affections of good men, and in the practice of the domestic virtues." The following manuscript letter from Washington to Clinton is in point:

HEADQUARTERS, DOBB'S FERRY, August 10, 1780.

Dear Sir—An anxiety for your Excellency's safety induces me to transmit a report I lately received from New York, though it may not in reality have a sufficient foundation; still caution on the subject may not be improper. I am informed that George Harden, James Kilty, one Blue of Dutchess, and a fourth person, whose name is not noted, are promised a very considerable reward if they will seize your person and conduct you to New York. * * * * With wishes for your personal safety, I am, with great esteem, your Excellency's

Most obedt. humb. servant,

G. WASHINGTON.

In 1783 Clinton accompanied the Commander-in-Chief on a tour of the northern and western posts of the State. The party, which besides Clinton included Alexander Hamilton and Colonels Humphreys and Fish, ascended the Hudson as far as Albany, whence they were conveyed by General Schuyler in carriages to Saratoga (Schuylerville). After remaining there two days as the guests of that officer, and visiting in his company the battle and surrender grounds, they journeyed on to Lake George, and embarking in boats which had been provided for them visited Ticonderoga, and sailed down Lake Champlain to Crown Point. On their return the party halted a day at the "High-Rock Spring," their attention having been called to it by Schuyler while at the latter's house. Thence they left on horseback for below, with the intention of visiting on their route the newly discovered spring at Ballston Spa (afterwards known as the "Iron-Railing Spring"), and of dining with General Gordon, who at that time lived in the vicinity. On their way through the woods between the two springs they lost the path. Near the site of Factory Village lived one "Tom" Conner, who was chopping wood at his cabin door. They inquired of him the way to the spring, and received the requisite directions. The party accordingly retraced their steps a short distance upon the road by which they had come, but soon becoming bewildered, rode back for more explicit directions. "Tom" had by this time lost his temper, and peevishly cried out to the spokesman of the party, who happened to be Washington: "I tell you turn back and take the first right-hand path into the woods, and then stick to it; any damned fool would know the way!" When "Tom" afterwards learned who it was whom he had addressed in this unceremonious and profane manner he was extremely chagrined. His neighbors for a long time afterwards chafed poor "Tom" on his "reception of General Washington." The party, following the backwoodsman's instructions, found the spring, then flowing

through a barrel, and in the midst of a dense forest. From the spring Washington and his companions proceeded to General Gordon's, where they dined. Toward nightfall they left for Schenectady, General Gordon, attired in full regimentals, escorting them and riding upon Washington's right. As the party moved off the late James Scott, the father of the Hon. George G. Scott of Ballston, then in his tenth year, boy-like, secreted himself behind a rail-fence by the roadside, and peeped through the rails. He ever afterwards retained a vivid recollection of Washington's face and appearance on horseback. From Schenectady the party pushed up the Mohawk Valley as far as Fort Stanwix and the headwaters of the Susquehanna; and it was on this trip that Clinton first conceived the project of a canal between the Mohawk and Wood Creek, which he subsequently recommended to the Legislature in his speech on opening the session of 1791, an idea which, more than a quarter of a century afterwards, was carried out to its legitimate end in the grand Erie Canal by his illustrious nephew, Governor De Witt Clinton.

In 1787 Governor Clinton was instrumental in crushing a stupendous scheme for dismembering the State. Emboldened probably by the success which had crowned the efforts of the Green Mountain Boys in robbing New York of her territory, a daring company of speculators, residing upon the banks of the Hudson, attempted to grasp the entire country remaining to the Six Nations after the treaty of 1784, with a view, as it was believed, of ultimately dividing New York, and creating a separate State from its western territory. The laws of New York even at that early day prohibited the purchase of any Indian lands whatever, by individuals or by companies, within the State; but Colonel John Livingston and his associates attempted to escape the legal difficulties by an evasion. Instead of making a *purchase*, they negotiated with forty-five chiefs of the Six Nations in the autumn of 1787 for a *lease* of their entire territory within the State of New York, exclusive of certain reservations, for and during the period of *nine hundred and ninety-nine years*, at the nominal yearly rent of two thousand Spanish milled dollars, to be paid annually on the fourth day of July. A lease of such extended duration was equivalent to a purchase of the fee of the land, and was so considered by the lessees, whose object, as it was understood, was to throw a large population as rapidly as possible into that territory to form the nucleus of another independent State. But the Government of the State and the people took the alarm. Remonstances were poured in upon the Legislature from Hudson, Pough-

keepsie and other large towns, expressing the surprise and anxiety with which the remonstrants had observed the movements of the association, and protesting against the application making by the latter to obtain the sanction of their claim by the Government. But although this action of their constituents might have been necessary to spur up the members of the Legislature, it was not needed by the lynx-eyed Governor, who, before the petitions had reached their destination, had already in a stirring message called the attention of the Legislature specially to the subject. Finally the hopes of the company were extinguished by the law of March, 1788, proposed by Egbert Benson, then in the State Senate, declaring the preemptive right to the lands to be rested in the State, and authorizing the strongest measures of force to be used by the Executive in the removal of all intruders from the lands. In order, however, that not even the color of injustice towards the lessees might remain, the Legislature five years afterwards made a grant to them of a district of country, ten miles square, in the northern part of the State, and subsequently they received grants of several large tracts in the Genesee country from Phelps and Gorham.

In June, 1788, Governor Clinton presided over the State Convention held in Poughkeepsie to ratify the Federal Constitution. Next to the emancipation of the American Colonies from British thraldom, and their recognition by the English monarch as the United States of America, free and independent, the adoption of the Federal Constitution, the instrument which was to bind the almost disjointed members of the Republic together as one people, was the most important event that the people of New York had ever been called to commemorate. The period intervening between the formation of the Constitution and its adoption by the requisite number of States, was one of deep anxiety to the patriots of that day. A violent opposition sprung up in various parts of the confederation, which was so successfully fomented by demagogues and those who feared they might lose importance in the national councils should the new federal edifice be erected, that the friends of the Constitution, seeing nothing better than civil tumult and anarchy in the perspective should that instrument be rejected, entertained the most lively apprehensions upon the subject. There were, however, among the opponents of the proposed Constitution some good men and real patriots, who honestly believed that in the event of its adoption too much power would pass from the States to the Federal Congress and the Executive. Among these was George Clinton. The ablest tongues and pens in the Union were brought into action; and it

was that contest which enlisted on the one side the talent of Clinton, and on the other combined the wisdom of Hamilton, Jay and Madison in the "Federalist," the best exposition of the Constitution that ever has been, or probably ever will be written.

The action of the respective States was slow, and the proceedings of their conventions were watched with absorbing interest. When at length it was found that the vote of New York would turn the scale, her convention, as before mentioned, being in session at Poughkeepsie, all eyes were eagerly turned toward that quarter. The chief reason of the reluctance of New York to come into the Constitutional Union was the fear, in view of the rising destiny of their city and State, of making over too much of their local power to the central government, especially their great share of revenue from imports, and their commanding position between New England and the South and West. The contest, however, was not long in doubt. Hamilton redoubled his wonderful efforts; Livingston put the whole energies of his capacious mind in requisition, and the Federalists triumphed. When the momentous question was decided, Clinton was not the man to embarrass the Government by cynical carpings or factious opposition. In the celebrations and rejoicings which followed the ratification he lent his cooperation, and at the Inauguration Ball given to President Washington in 1789, he, with his wife, was among the most cheerful of the invited guests.

But although the adoption by all the States of the Federal Constitution seemed to promise prosperity, it was not long before the young republic found herself involved in serious complications with her Indian neighbors; and for a number of years the talents of Pickering, Clinton and others found ample scope in this peculiar line of diplomacy. In the summer of 1791 many of the western nations, the Miamies especially, had assumed a hostile attitude toward the United States; and it was considered a matter of great importance to secure the services of Thayendanegea (Brant) in pacifying that particular tribe. Colonel Timothy Pickering was instructed by the General Government to treat that chief with "great kindness," that he might the more readily be persuaded to attend a council at the Painted-Post on the 13th of June; and General Knox, the Secretary of War, knowing of the friendship subsisting between Brant and Governor Clinton, addressed a letter to the latter upon the subject. "Aware of your Excellency's influence over Captain Joseph Brant," wrote the Secretary, "I have conceived the idea that you might induce him, by proper arrangements, to undertake to

conciliate the western Indians to pacific measures, and bring them to hold a general treaty. This measure would be abundantly more compatible with the feelings and interest of the United States than to extirpate the Indians, which seems to be the inevitable consequence of a war of long continuance with them. You are entirely able to estimate Brant's talents, and the degree of confidence that might be placed in him on such an occasion. Perhaps Colonel Willett, of whose talents in managing the minds of men I have a high opinion, might accept of an agency on this occasion as it might respect Brant. If your Excellency should entertain the opinion strongly that Brant might be employed with good effect, I earnestly request that you would take the necessary measures for the purpose, according to your own judgment." To this letter Governor Clinton, on the 27th of April, replied as follows: "I have communicated to Colonel Willett your confidence in his talents and desire for the interposition of his influence with Brant, but have it not in my power to inform you of his explicit answer. * * * I had, in June last, appointed an interview with Brant, contemplating the danger you appear to apprehend from his address and his influence with several of the Indian nations (which, I am persuaded, is very considerable), and from different letters I have since received from him, I have reason to hope he will give me the opportunity of a personal conference with him at this place (New York) the beginning of the ensuing summer, if the proposed convention, to which I will not venture to say he may not be opposed, should not prevent it. But the good understanding between us, and the friendly and familiar intercourse I have successfully endeavoured to preserve, will, I doubt not, predominate over any transient disgust that the measures of the Union may have heretofore excited in his mind, and enable me to procure an interview with him at any time and place not particularly inconvenient." In his letter of reply to Governor Clinton, under date of May 11th, the Secretary, after speaking of the hostility of Brant to the Corn-Planter, refers to a former design of the Mohawk Chief to place himself at the head of the great Indian Confederacy northwest of the Ohio, the Six Nations included, and cites a letter, which he had just received from the Rev. Mr. Kirkland, the Indian missionary, intimating that he had not yet abandoned that project. The United States could not, of course, countenance the formation of any Confederacy by which the whole of the then vast body of Indians might be moved by a single impulse; and with a view of diverting him from such a purpose, and of securing his friendship to the United States, Governor Clinton was requested, if possible, to effect the interview,

of which he had spoken, with Captain Brant. Authority was at the same time given the Governor to enter into any pecuniary engagements which he should judge necessary to make sure of his attachment to the United States.

It would seem as though the influence of Clinton and Pickering over the Chief was beneficial. In June of the following year (1792) Thayendanegea, on the invitation of the General Government, visited Philadelphia; at which time the true causes of the war with the western Indians were explained to him, and great pains were taken by the President and Secretary of War to impress upon his mind the sincere desire of the United States to cultivate the most amicable relations with the sons of the forest, of any and every tribe. In the end, the Chief was induced to undertake a mission of peace to the Miamies, for which purpose he was furnished with ample instructions by the Secretary of War. Most emphatically was he enjoined to undeceive the Indians in regard to their apprehensions that the Government was seeking to wrest from them farther portions of their lands. The Chief left Philadelphia about the 1st of July, on which occasion Secretary of War Knox wrote to Governor Clinton as follows: "Captain Brant appears to be a judicious and sensible man. I flatter myself his journey will be satisfactory to himself and beneficial to the United States."

Scarcely had this matter been brought to a happy issue when the attention of Clinton was directed particularly to Indian troubles within his own State. The Caughnauagas and St. Regis Indians, small offshoots from the Mohawks, and residing on the banks of the St. Lawrence, had for a number of years past, been growing more and more inimical towards New York on account of a dispute regarding certain lands to which they laid claim; and at this time, when the Indian nations along the entire border of the United States were in an exceedingly inflammable condition, the open hostility of even so small a clan as the Caughnauagas might easily prove the spark which should produce a wide-spread conflagration. This fact was realized in its fullest extent by the Governor; who, also recognizing the extreme delicacy of treatment which the case demanded, invited the Caughnauagas, or as they callled themselves, "the Seven Nations of Canada," to a conference. Accordingly, in the winter of 1792–1793, the Legislature being in session at Albany, a delegation from the "Seven Nations" came to that city and held several conferences with the Governor. At first they assumed quite a belligerent attitude. They complained that some of the people of the State had settled on their lands near Lake Champlain and on the

River St. Lawrence, and demanded that commissioners should at once be appointed to inquire into the matter. The reply of Clinton was firm but conciliatory. He stated that although he was aware it was generally difficult to define their rights and their boundaries, yet it was to be presumed that the Indian title to a considerable part of the lands on the borders of the lake had been extinguished by the French Government before the conquest of Canada, as those lands, or the greater portion of them, had been granted to individuals by that government before that period; added to which, it was held by the State that the Seven Nations had never any just title to the land, inasmuch as it originally belonged to the Six Nations, of whom the claimants formed but a small number.

The calmness of the Governor, together with the friendly tone of his voice, sensibly cooled the temper of the delegation. They replied in a respectful manner, but insisted, nevertheless, upon their claim to a tract of land covering a large portion of the northern part of the State; all, indeed, lying between Lake Champlain on the east and the head waters of the Mohawk on the west, bounded north by the St. Lawrence and south by a line to be drawn from a point on the Half-way Brook, between Fort Edward and Lake George, to the junction of Canada Creek with the Mohawk River, in the neighborhood of Little Falls. In his rejoinder, the following day, the Governor said that he was neither authorized nor disposed to controvert their claims, which he would submit to the Legislature, who, he doubted not, would pay respectful attention to them, and adopt suitable measures to effect a settlement with their tribe upon a fair and liberal basis. The Governor was as good as his word. Shortly after, he appointed a commission, consisting of Egbert Benson, Richard Varick and James Watson, to treat with their chiefs upon the subject; but it was not until the summer of 1796, during the Governorship of John Jay, that a permanent arrangement was effected, by virtue of which the Seven Nations relinquished their claims, with the exception of the St. Regis reservation, for a small sum in hand paid, and a yet smaller perpetual annuity. Thus, by a tact worthy of Sir William Johnson himself, Clinton dissolved a complication which, under existing circumstances, unless handled with great skill, might have led to a border warfare—short, it is true—but while it lasted, replete with all the horrors of the tomahawk and scalping-knife.

At the first Presidential election Clinton received three of the electoral votes cast for the Vice Presidency. In 1792, when Washington

was reelected, he had for the same office fifty votes; and at the sixth Presidential election (1809–13) he received six ballots from New York for the office of President.

During the winter of 1799–1800 the Republicans considered it of the last importance, if they would gain the approaching presidential election, to secure the vote of New York, and it was with a view to Clinton's influence that his name, through the efforts of Aaron Burr, was placed at the head of the State ticket, in connection with those of Brockholst Livingston, Horatio Gates and other distinguished men. The Republican ticket was successful, and after having passed six years in retirement Clinton once more took his seat in the State Legislature. The country was at this time in an excited and critical condition. But the leaders of the Republicans had not counted in vain upon Clinton's aid; and to him may justly be attributed the great political revolution which terminated in the overwhelming defeat and final extinction of the Federal party.

In 1801 he again became a candidate for Governor, and was elected by nearly four thousand majority over his Federal opponent, Stephen Van Rensselaer. After holding the governorship for one term, he was in 1804 elevated to the office of Vice President of the United States, a position which he filled with dignity until his death. His last important public act was to negative by his casting vote in the Senate the renewal of the charter of the United States Bank in 1811. Of the causes which led to this action of the Vice President, I have neither the space nor intention to speak, my object in this sketch being more particularly to direct attention to Clinton's relations with his own State. He died at Washington on the 20th of April, 1812, and was buried in the Congressional Cemetery. His monument, erected by his children, bears the following inscription, far more just than such tributes usually are: "While he lived his virtue, wisdom and valor were the pride, the ornament and security of his country; and when he died he left an illustrious example of a well-spent life, worthy of all imitation."

As a military man, Clinton was bold and courageous, and endowed with a will that rarely failed him in sudden emergencies. At a critical period of the war he saved the army of Washington from disbanding by the impressment—an act justified by the exigency—of large quantities of flour in the State of New York. He thought little of councils, because, to use his own words, "the duty of looking out for danger makes men cowards." Although he never won signal victories—on the contrary suffering

defeat—yet by his cool judgment, calm self-possession, and unfaltering trust in the ultimate triumph of the cause, he contributed greatly in keeping the public mind from despondency, and in reanimating the troops with fresh ardor and an unswerving determination to succeed; on account of which, as well as for keeping the State in accord with the General Government, both in the matter of troops and moral sympathy, George Clinton might, to use a term in vogue at the present day, appropriately be styled "The Great War Governor" of the American Revolution.[1]

As a civil magistrate he was a staunch friend to literature, common schools, social order and internal improvements. In private life he was affectionate, winning, though dignified in his manner, strong in his dislikes, warm in his friendships, and always ready to do a kind act.[2] It must not be inferred, however, on account of these amiable traits that he was lacking either in firmness or in decision. It is related that at the close of the Revolutionary war, when violence against Tories was the order of the day, a British officer was seized by the Whigs and placed in a cart preparatory to his being tarred and feathered. At this instant Governor Clinton with a naked sword rushed in among the mob, and rescued the victim at great personal peril. Some years later, in 1788, a terrible riot occurred in New York City, which, although afterwards facetiously called the "Doctor's Mob," was at the time no laughable matter. The rioters, infuriated by a rumor that the bodies of their relatives had been dug up for dissection, quickly obtained control of the city, and roamed like wild beasts through the streets, committing every kind of violence. Prominent citizens, among whom were Hamilton, Jay and Baron Steuben, endeavored to appease the popular fury, but in vain. Jay and Steuben were felled to the ground with stones and severely injured, and it was not until Clinton appeared at the head of the militia, who by his order fired and killed five of the rioters, that the disturbance was quelled.

But it was perhaps his conduct in connection with "Shay's Rebellion" that particularly showed his ability to meet an exigency. Soon after the followers of Daniel Shay had been dispersed at Springfield, Mass., by General Shepherd, a large number of them fled to Lebanon, N. Y., where they made an apparently formidable stand. The Legislature of New York having no precedent to guide it, was powerless to give its Governor authority to act in the matter. Nevertheless Clinton, with his usual contempt for "red-tape," promptly called out the militia, and repairing to the spot speedily scattered the insurgents, and thus destroyed every vestige of the insurrection.

To sum up, the life of George Clinton is that of one who wielded vast influence in his day, more by sound judgment, marvellous energy and great moral force of character than by any high-sounding or specially brilliant achievements.[3]

WILLIAM L. STONE

[1] At the opening of the session of 1795 Governor Clinton initiated the great movement for the organization of a Common School system by the following recommendation: "While it is evident that the general establishment and liberal endowment of academies are highly to be commended, and are attended with the most beneficial consequences, yet it cannot be denied that they are principally confined to the children of the opulent, and that a great portion of the community is excluded from their immediate advantage. *The establishment of Common Schools throughout the State* is happily calculated to remedy this inconvenience, and will therefore engage your early and decided consideration."

[2] When Brant visited New York in 1797 he called on Aaron Burr and his daughter Theodosia, the latter of whom did all in her power to entertain him. Miss Burr, after she became Mrs. Alston, visited the chief at Grand River in company with her husband. Seeing that when Brant saw her in New York "she was very young, and had assumed a new name," Governor Clinton gave the young married couple a cordial letter of introduction to the chief.

[3] I have been greatly aided in the preparation of this sketch by the courtesy of Mr. Henry A. Homes, the genial Librarian of the New York State Library, and Mr. Frank Burdge, the author of the Centennial sketch of Simon Boerum.

THE BATTLE OF MONMOUTH

DESCRIBED BY DR. JAMES McHENRY, SECRETARY TO GENERAL WASHINGTON

The following documents, containing a view of the battle of Monmouth, now for the first time given to the public, are in the handwriting of Dr. McHenry, and were found among the papers of his grandson, Colonel Ramsay McHenry, of "Monmouth," Harford County, Maryland, who died the 13th August, 1878. The authority for the statements they contain is unquestioned, as the writer's family intimacy with Washington during this campaign afforded him the best opportunity of judging of the critical events upon which turned the issues of the momentous 28th June, 1778.

HEAD QUARTERS, ENGLISH TOWN,
30th June, 1778, 8 o'clock A. M.

DEAR GEORGE:

In my letter to my father, to which I referred you in my last, I omitted several particulars till they could be better ascertained. As we remained masters of the ground, of course the burying of the dead became our duty. The returns of the parties employed for this purpose amount to 233 killed. Ours not more than 52 rank and file, which is in a proportion of about one to four. The account of the prisoners we have taken is not yet brought in. They may be near 60. Besides those which they left at Monmouth Court house (about 45) of their own, we found several on the field.

Gen. Clinton, by this march through the Jerseys, must have weakened his army full 2500. The desertions before we crossed the Delaware amounted to 428.— Since we entered the Jerseys we may set down 200 more; and it is moderate, I assure you, to calculate for 400 taken down by the march, and 100 actually dead from fatigue. Near some little brooks we have found a dozen of their soldiers in this condition. In particular their route since the action is marked with such melancholy spectacles. To this we may add 30 or 40 killed in their different skirmishes with our militia and flying parties.— Now, allowing the usual number of wounded for one that is killed, and I believe it will coincide pretty nearly with the above calculation.

General Lee, who led the advanced corps, consisting of above 5000 of our most valuable troops, with officers selected for this particular command—either from false information of the enemies' force and disposition, or from some causes

not yet fully understood, gave orders to retreat. His men recoiling on our main army, that were moving on to their support, had like to have produced the most alarming confusion. However, by the exertions of our General, a small front was formed, that gave the first check to the enemy's progress till a more solid opposition was made.

I cannot in justice to the commander-in-chief, whose great admirer you are, pass over his conduct during the whole course of the combat. I believe in most matters I am as little swayed by public opinion as any in the service. I have no interest or ambition which any person in it can gratify to tempt me to give that lustre to *one* character which belongs more properly to another. I do not think, for my part, the general ever in one day displayed more military powers, or acquired more real reputation. He gave a new turn to the action. He retrieved what had been lost. He was always in danger—examining the enemies manoeuvres—exhorting the troops—and directing the operation of his plans. He unfolded surprising abilities, which produced uncommon effects. Gen. Greene also, who commanded on the right, and Lord Stirling, on the left, distinguished themselves also by great address, coolness and courage. Indeed every Brigadier General and officer who engaged seemed animated with the spirit of their commander. As to our troops, you must allow them the highest commendation for fighting and conquering the culled and picked, the very flower of the British army, their light Infantry, guards and grenadiers. Two of the General's aids had their horses shot under them, another was slightly wounded. If I escaped unhurt, that had the honor to be not far from his person during most of the day, it is owing to that providence who seems to have him under his particular protection.

We are now on our march to the North River. Col. Morgan, with his corps of light troops, and Col. Moylan's dragoons are still hanging on the enemy, and waiting to see them safely a ship-board.

I am, Dr George, in esteem & friendship your very humble servt,

JAMES McHENRY

P. S. 10 o'clock, P. M.

This evening General Lee was arrested for misbehaviour before the enemy—for retreating, &c.

George Lux, Esqr., Baltimore.

HEAD QUARTERS, PARAMUS,
11 July, 1778.

DEAR SIR:

As there has been a very defective narration of the battle of Monmouth published in the Trenton paper, and no perfect one of the various contentions, the order of battle, or the behaviour of our officers, that I know of, I must request you to put the enclosed into the hands of Mr. Dunlap or any of the

printers in Philadelphia. There will be a propriety for the present in concealing the writer, tho let me assure you that no circumstantial detail whatsoever can be more free from prejudice.

I am, Sir, with much respect,
your most obedient and very humble Servant,
Colonel [John] Cox, Philadelphia. JAMES MCHENRY

Extract of a letter from a Gentleman of the Army to his friend in this City, dated—

CAMP NEAR BRUNSWICK, 1st July, 1778.

You are anxious to have the conclusion of the journal of so memorable a march of two rival armies. You say it will in some measure designate the intentions and skill of General Clinton, besides, help you to fix the characters of our different commanders, when unscreened by their lines of circumvallation. Let me advise you once again. I do not pretend in those confidential letters any more than a contour of our operations—to finish the lights and shades must be the work of a literary leasure, at most times incompatible with the life of a soldier. We are not all Cæsars.

In my last I laid down the progress of both armies to the 27th ultimo. I fixed the position of the two camps. I mentioned the plan for the attack, under the direction, in the first instance, of Gen. Lee, so soon as the enemy should recommence their march, and then left you on the line of suspense, with all the doubtful issue of events before your eyes.

Gen. Lee was then at English Town, three miles in van of our main army, at the head of a command of about 5000 troops, four fifths of which were chosen for this special service. We were to support and co-operate with this corps.

Early the 28 the enemy marched from Freehold Town. General Lee was ordered to put his troops in motion, and came up with their rear guard near the Court-house, upon which some loose firing with cannon commenced.

The commander-in-chief was now in full march with the main body of the army, and within about two miles and a half from the Court-house, when he was surprised with the unexpected retreat of the whole advanced detachment. Their recoiling thus suddenly upon him, without the least previous notice or advice whatsoever, would have produced the most alarming confusion, and might have proved fatal to our whole army, had it not been for the great exertions of his Excellency and the troops, who were brought into action on this trying occasion.

The first impression often saves the lives of thousands, and determines the complexion of a battle. But this advantage unfortunately fell into the hands of our enemy.

I have not been able to learn that, upon Gen. Washington's coming up with General Lee, the latter gave satisfactory reasons for his retreat. But whether it was owing to a defect in the original scheme of attack, or in its execution in the first instance under Gen. Lee, should in my opinion be well inquired into. For

from one or other of these causes we lost the fairest opportunity this war has afforded to destroy the British army. It was the very moment for attack, so many circumstances concurring to render it successful. The investigation therefore is a matter of no small significance to the public, as it will not only serve to settle the worth of her respective officers, but determine how far she may trust them with the powers of conducting a war.

It is a circumstance not altogether unworthy remark, and much to the reputation of our retreating troops, that on the appearance of the General, and under his direction, two regiments immediately formed within about 200 yards of the enemy, who were displayed in front, and in full advance. They were commanded by Colonel Stewart and Lieut. Colonel Ramsay. General Lee and Gen. Wayne were present. The British grenadiers charged with great spirit and force. We gave way. As a considerable part of Gen. Lee's detachment had retreated to English Town, he retired from the field to collect the stragglers, to which he did not return.

The next impression was sustained by a part of General Varnum's Brigade, under the command of Lieut. Col. Olney, which covered at the same time the retreat of the two regiments. This onset was of longer continuance, of various countenance, and strongly animated by the behaviour of the officers and soldiers on both sides. Here, tho' we gave way a little, we exceeded greatly in execution. Here too the enemy received considerable opposition from Col. Livingston, who was on the right of Col. Olney.

During these contentions the right and left wing unfolded, and the whole order of battle formed on very advantageous ground. The right wing, under the command of Major Gen. Greene—the left, of Major Gen. Lord Stirling.

The enemy continuing to press forward, and at the same time inclining to our left, met with a still more serious check from some batteries of cannon, well posted by Lord Stirling on the right of his wing, and seconded by a detachment of infantry, under Col. Scilly and Col. Parker of the 1st Virginia regt., who, penetrating the woods, fell on the enemy's right flank with great spirit and success. The enemy, repulsed in this quarter, seemed to bend towards our right.

But General Wayne, occupying a barn and orchard in front, gave them a very warm reception. Gen. Greene at the same critical moment had taken possession of a piece of ground on their left with a brigade under the immediate command of Gen. Woodford, where he formed a battery of cannon, which severely enfiladed the enemy, and co-operating with the gallant opposition given them in front by Gen. Wayne, obliged them to retire with great loss. Here Col. Moncton of their grenadiers and several of their officers fell. On our part Lt. Col. Bonner was killed & Col. Barber wounded, both having very much distinguished themselves in the field. Previous to this Major Dickison was killed by a cannon ball. He was an officer of uncommon merit, to whose services we cannot pay too great a tribute of praise and remembrance.

After this we had several contentions, all terminating in our favor. In each of which we forced the enemy. But I cannot close the account without taking notice of an affair much to the honor of our troops. A small party of infantry were ordered to re-occupy a piece of ground, from which we had forced the enemy, and to which they were again advancing. In rising the hill our infantry received an unexpected charge from the grenadiers, which threw them into confusion. But recovering themselves, suddenly they formed under the enemy's fire, advanced, and very gallantly made themselves masters of the post. This was in face of our front line—of the front line of both armies, and had a most beautiful appearance. The rallying and charge were admirably executed.

Night now coming on prevented our pursuing any further the advantages we had gained. The troops that were ordered to gain the enemy's right and left flank did not reach their ground till night came on. The attack was therefore delayed until morning. But the enemy, fearing the event of another day, retreated about midnight, leaving behind them all the marks of disgrace and precipitancy.

During the course of a series of conflicts, in which there was so frequent occasion for the display of military talents, it is difficult to draw the line of deserving between the different officers who had an opportunity of being engaged. In attempting a catalogue some will be omitted. Gen. Wayne was conspicuous through the whole day. Of Col. Scilly we cannot speak too highly. Lt. Col. Olney, Col. Stewart, Lt. Col. Ramsay, Lt. Col. Barber, Col. Parker, Colonel Livingston, Col. Butler and Col. Craig, with their respective officers, behaved on all occasions most gallantly. The officers of our artillery deserve all manner of commendation; never were cannon better posted, or better served than ours. Capt. Herd of the dragoons was indefatigable in reconnoitring, & in performing every duty of a brave and good officer. The General's family were also unremitting in their endeavours. And Gen. Reed & Gen. Cadwallader, who had attached themselves to his person, were extremely active. Indeed every gentleman who was engaged seemed to act to the full extent of his force and situation, and to vie with each other for pre-eminence in honor Some even carried this principle in the ardor of military pursuit beyond its purpose. This was the case with Lt. Col. Ramsay. While his men were on the retreat he was attacked by one of the enemy's dragoons, who charged him very briskly. The Colonel was on foot. It was for some time between them a tryal of skill & courage. After the horseman fired his pistol, the Colonel closed in, and wounded and dismounted him. Several dragoons now came up to support their comrade; the Colonel engaged them *cominus ense*, giving & receiving very serious wounds, till at length attacked in his rear, and overpowered by numbers, he was made prisoner. *Genl. Clinton* paid a proper attention to such uncommon prowess, and generously liberated the Colonel the following day on his parole.

I do not think that in any one instance the Commander-in-Chief ever unfolded

greater abilities, or that were attended with happier effects. I am confident that by his presence, exertions and superior conduct the glory of the day was regained. He thro' the whole series of actions at all times appeared in as much danger as any soldier in the field. But it required it, in order to recover what we had lost by our morning's misadventure. The enemy, who were advancing rapidly, elated by our retreat, were to be checked— The most advantageous ground to be seized— The main body of the army to be formed— The enemy's intentions and dispositions to be discovered—and a new plan of attack to be concerted—and all this too in the smallest interval of time— But it is in those moments of a battle that the genius of a general is displayed, when a very inconsiderable weight determines whether it shall be a victory or a defeat.

General Greene and Lord Stirling gave the most evident and unequivocal marks of great military worth—their dispositions were judicious—their judgment cool and clear, and their bravery always pointed and efficacious.

The Marquis De La Fayette was sadly disappointed. He had flattered himself, from his advanced situation under Gen. Lee, with the first laurels of the day. The honors of war you know have a distinguished place in the breast of a French nobleman. I could see that the Marquis on this occasion felt peculiarly unhappy. He was ordered by Gen. Washington to form in the rear of our army, to support us in case of a retreat. His ambuscades and order on this occasion were very judicious.

I am told Gen. Lee claims great praise in what he terms a retrogade manouvre. I confess I am no proper judge of its merit, nor ever heard that it was a preconcerted or communicated scheme till after the engagement. But I suppose the measure and matter will be ascertained by the present court martial.

How General Clinton feels after so inglorious a day, I know not. He thanked Gen. Washington by flag for his humane & generous treatment of the wounded, and for the honors of war paid to Colonel Moncton and the other officers who were killed and left on the field of action.

Altho' the victory was not so *extensive* as we could wish, yet it has every substantial and unequivocal proof of its being one. We gained the field of battle before evening— We encamped on the ground that night— We buried of their killed & those who died of fatigue 303— They, moreover, left 45 of their wounded behind them at Monmouth, tho' within 12 miles of a place where every idea of an attack was inadmissable, & to which they retreated with a precipitancy fully evincive of their defeat and situation.

This interesting narrative of the battle of Monmouth was written by Dr. McHenry for immediate publication, in order to correct certain meagre or false accounts of the action which had crept into the public prints. His friend, Colonel Cox, to whom he sent the communication,

which he desired should appear without the author's name, was not successful in inducing Mr. Dunlap to give it a place in his paper; the cautious, perhaps wary publisher declined the matter lest some of his readers might fault such a plain statement, and the manuscript was returned to the writer, who made no further effort in the matter; and his wishes are now consummated after the interval of a century.

Dr. McHenry's life was fully and ably portrayed by Mr. Frederick J. Brown in his address read before the Maryland Historical Society, 13th November, 1876, and but little can be added to it here. A student of medicine under Rush, he afterwards joined the army as an assistant surgeon, and in January, 1776, was in attendance at the American Hospital at Cambridge. On the 26th August following, Congress, "having a proper sense of the merit and services of doctor McHenry, recommend to the directors of the different hospitals belonging to the United States, to appoint doctor McHenry to the first vacancy that shall happen of surgeon's berth in any of the said hospitals;" a copy of which resolution Dr. Rush next day forwarded to him. It is during this service that Graydon mentions with gratitude his curing him of an attack of quinsy. On the 10th August he had been appointed Surgeon of the Fifth Pennsylvania Battalion, commanded by Colonel Robert Magaw, and was among the prisoners taken in the capture of Fort Washington, the 16th of November following. He was paroled the 27th of January, 1777, but not exchanged until the 5th of March, 1778. On the 15th of May following he was appointed Secretary to the Commander-in-Chief, and remained in Washington's military family until August, 1780, when he was transferred to Lafayette's staff, where he continued until the close of the war. He was present at the breakfast on the 24th of September, 1780, at Robinson's house, when Arnold was surprised by the information that Washington had knowledge of his treason and fled. Dr. McHenry was active in all the political movements of the day, a member of the Convention of 1787 which framed the Constitution, and was called to Washington's Cabinet as Secretary of War to succeed Pickering, who became Secretary of State 1st January, 1796. The memory of his control of this portfolio is preserved in the name of Fort McHenry, whose bombardment in 1814 became the occasion of the creation of our anthem, The Star-Spangled Banner; it was here that Lafayette landed in 1824 when visiting Baltimore, and in his reply to the address of welcome alluded to "the confidential friend in his military family of whom the fort, most nobly defended in the last war, brought back the affecting recollection."

McHenry remained in the War Department through the fore part of the Adams Administration, when, upon a disagreement with President Adams on the French question, he resigned in May, 1800. His reasons for this action are fully explained to his nephew, John McHenry, in the letter published in Gibbs' Memoirs of the Administrations of Washington and Adams, ii., 346–8. Mr. Brown, in his address, well paints the difficulties he found himself exposed to at this period of our national affairs, and in a clear narrative of the political events of the day establishes the rectitude and the sincerity of all of McHenry's actions toward his chief, displayed without any abandonment of his views upon the great questions which then agitated our parties. The remainder of his life was spent in leisure, but without freedom from a great interest in all public affairs. In 1813 he was President of the first Bible Society formed in Baltimore. On the 16th of May, 1816, he died at his residence, "Fayetteville," named from his former commander; a handsome estate, about a mile west of the Baltimore Court House, and lately in the possession of Mr. Thomas Winans. His features are best known to us in the engraving St. Memin made in 1803.

Dr. McHenry was born on the 16th of November, 1753, in Ballymena, County Antrim, Ireland, the son of Daniel and Agnes McHenry. He received a classical education in Dublin, but his health failing him he made a voyage to America, and came to Baltimore about 1771. His accounts written home were so flattering that his father was induced to come over shortly after with a younger son, and they established themselves in the importing business, which soon grew into one of great magnitude. He married, the 8th of January, 1784, Margaretta, daughter of David Caldwell, of Philadelphia, who survived him many years, dying on the 20th of November, 1833. Their children were: 1. Grace, born the 2d of November, 1784, died the 24th of March, 1789: 2. Daniel William, born the 12th of November, 1786, married, the 23d of June, 1812, Sophia Hall, daughter of his father's long-time friend, Colonel Nathaniel Ramsay (who had married Charlotte Hall, the niece of Bishop White), and died the 30th of June 1814, leaving an only child, Ramsay, born the 15th of January, 1814, and died the 13th of August, 1878, s. p. at "Monmouth," where the account of the battle was found; 3. Anna, born the 20th of March, 1788, married, the 4th of February, 1808, James Pillar Boyd, and died the 6th of April, 1837. Their children are: Mary, born the 2d of March 1810; James McHenry, born the 15th of December, 1811, died the 8th of December, 1847; Andrew, born the 9th of November, 1814; John Pillar, born the 3d of August, 1816;

4. John, born the 27th of March, 1791, married, the 7th of December, 1819, Julianna Elizabeth, daughter of Colonel John Eager Howard, and died the 6th of October, 1821, leaving James Howard, born the 17th of October, 1820, their only child; 5. Margaretta, born the 7th of March, 1794, died the 26th of November, 1809. Mr. Brown, in his address, quotes freely from the "record left by a young kinsman, John McHenry," who is understood to have been a nephew; he married, in 1820, Miss Martha Hall, a younger sister of Mrs. Ramsay, and died in October, 1856.

Allusion has been made to Dr. McHenry's long-time friend, Colonel Ramsay; and it seems fitting to quote here, in connection with the foregoing papers, a little incident of the battle of Monmouth, of which, in justice to his friend, Dr. McHenry had written a narrative in his own hand in his copy of Marshall's Washington, on the margin of page 473, Vol. III. (Philadelphia, 1804), lately in the library at "Monmouth," an estate of Colonels Ramsay and McHenry, which was thus named in honor of that day, and which now, since his death, has passed into strangers' hands.

"I was at General Washington's side when he gave his orders to Colonels Stewart and Ramsay. General Lee's command were retiring before the British troops, which were pressing close upon them. General Washington arrived at this juncture, contemplated the scene for a few moments, then called to him Colonel Stewart and Colonel Ramsay, when taking the latter by the hand, 'Gentlemen,' said he to them, 'I shall depend on your immediate exertions to check with your two regiments the progress of the enemy till I can form the main army.' 'We shall check them,' said Colonel Ramsay. These officers performed what they promised. Colonel Stewart was early wounded and carried off the field. Colonel Ramsay maintained the ground he had taken till left without troops. In this situation he engaged in single combat with some British dragoons, nor yielded till cut down by numbers, and left for dead on the field. It may not be superfluous to add, that this important service, which arrested the progress of the British army and gave time to the Commander-in-Chief to bring up and assign proper positions to the main army, was gratefully remembered on his accession to the Presidency of the U. S.; he appointed Colonel Ramsay to the civil office of Marshal, and afterwards to a place of more profit in the customs."

THOMAS H. MONTGOMERY

LIST OF FRENCH OFFICERS

WHO SERVED IN THE AMERICAN ARMIES WITH COMMISSIONS FROM CONGRESS PRIOR TO THE TREATIES MADE BETWEEN FRANCE AND THE THIRTEEN UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. REPRINTED FROM ESSAIS HISTORIQUES EL POLITIQUES SUR LA REVOLUTION DE L'AMÉRIQUE, BY HILLIARD D'AUBERTEUIL, PARIS, 1782.

1776

February 27th.

M. DUGAN.....Receives a compensation for his services in the campaign of Canada, and is recommended to the Generals of the Continental Army to be employed according to his capacity.

March 19th.

M. ARUNDEL.....Appointed Captain of Artillery under the orders of General Lee.

March 21st.

LE CHEV. DE SAINT-AULAIRE....Employed as Captain of an independent company to serve in Canada.

June 26th.

ANTOINE FELIX VIEBERT.....Recommended to General Washington to test his capacity as engineer.

June 26th.

LOUIS DUBOIS Appointed Colonel of a battalion lately raised for the army of Canada.

July 16th.

LE CHEV. DE KERMORVAN.....Appointed engineer in the Continental service with sixty piasters or silver dollars per month, and the rank of Lt Colonel ; retired the 5th of March, 1778, after having served in the Army of Gates, in the regiment of riflemen, commanded by Morgan.

July 20th.

JAC. ANT. DE FRANCHESSEN.....Knight of Saint Louis, volunteer, with the rank of Lt Colonel.

July 23d.

SAINT-MARTIN ..... Appointed Engineer with the rank of Lt Colonel

July 29th.

JEAN-ARTHUR DE VERMONET....Breveted Captain, and the 18th of September following, breveted Major in consideration of his services and his capacity, and at the request of General Washington

July 29th.

FIDELE DORRÉ.....Volunteer, recommended by Congress to General Washington, to be employed according to his capacity.

The same day

CHRISTOPHE PELLISSIER.....Appointed Engineer with the rank of Lt.Colonel.

September 18th.

JACQUES-PAUL GOVERT.....Breveted Captain, Lieutenant of Artillery.

September 19th.

MARQUIS DE MALMADY.....Breveted Major.

The same day.

CHEV. DU PLESSIS MAUDUIT.....Breveted Captain of Artillery, distinguished himself at Germantown and at Redbank; appointed Lt. Colonel the 20th of November, 1777, at the request of Washington; returned to the French service in 1779.

JEAN-LOUIS IMBERT.....Employed as engineer with the rank of Captain.

CHRÉTIEN DE COLERUS.....Employed with the rank of Major.

JEAN-LOUIS DE VIRNEJOIX.....Employed with the rank of Captain.

October 7th.

PIERRE FRANCOIS DE BOYS.....Breveted Major to follow the Army.

November 5th.

MAT-AL. DE LA ROCHEFERMOY...Appointed brigadier general of the Continental armies, offered his resignation the 31st of January. Died retired from the service.

1777

March 21st.

LE COMTE DE MONTFORT.....Sent to Washington to act as Lieutenant.

DE LA NEUVILLE.....Breveted Colonel, since appointed Brigadier General in consideration of his services. Retired the 4th of December, 1778.

March 24th.

DE FANEUIL.....Volunteer, with the rank of Colonel, without pay or rations.

ARM. MARQ. DE LA ROUERIE.....Breveted Colonel of an independent corps.

May 12th.

LOUIS FLEURY.....Appointed engineer, with the rank of Colonel; Congress presents him with a horse to recompense him for his conduct at Brandywine the 11th of September, 1777; breveted Lt. Colonel the 26th of November of the same year.

May 13th.

THOMAS CONWAY .....Chevalier de Saint Louis, appointed Brigadier General, commanded a division at Brandywine and Germantown; retired as Major General in 1779.

Short supposed to be mortally wounded in a duel with Genl Cadwaladder for the part he took in the Caball to put Gates in Washingtons place

May 26th.

MOTTIN DE LA BALME .....Breveted Lieutenant Colonel of Cavalry, with pay to date from the preceding month of January; the 18th of July following appointed inspector of Cavalry with the rank of Colonel; resigned October 12th.

The same day.

COPPIN DE LA GARDE.....Recommended for employment in the division of General Sullivan.

July 16th.

MARQUIS DE LA FAYETTE.....Appointed Major General; appointed to the command of a division of the Continental Army December 1st. Congress offers him public thanks the 21st of October, 1778, and has him presented with a sword, in the name of th United States, on his arrival in France.

July 28th.

DE VALLENAYS .....Breveted Captain of cavalry on pay.

The same day.

LE CHEVALIER DU PORTAIL.....Appointed Engineer in Chief, with the rank of Colonel; appointed Brigadier General November the 17th; elected since major general and Chief of the Corps of engineers of the Continental Army.

DE LA RADIERE.....Appointed engineer with the rank of Lt. Colonel; appointed Colonel the 17th of November. Died in the service.

DE GOUVION .....Engineer with the rank of Major; breveted Lt. Colonel the 17th of November.

July 29th.

BARON DE HOLZENDORF ..... Breveted Lt. Colonel, with pay since the 17th of November preceding; resigned the 31st January, 1778.

PRUDHOMME DE BORRE.....Elected Brigadier General. Resigned September 14th, 1777.

August 11th.

TRONSON DU COUDRAI.....Appointed inspector general of the military stores, with rank of Major General; requests to join the army as volunteer with the simple brevet of Captain the 16th of the same month. Drowned in the Schuykill the 17th of September. Congress had him buried at public cost.

August 11th.

CHEVALIER DE FAILLY .....Breveted Lt. Colonel, with pay from December 1st, 1776.

The same day.

DES EPINIERES .....Nephew of Mr. Caron de Beaumarchais, breveted Captain; since appointed Major; left, to return to France, December 4th, 1778. Died at Paris in 1782.

September 15th.

LE COMTE DE PULASKI.....A Pole, having served in France, and for a year in the Continental Army. Appointed Commander in Chief of Cavalry, with the rank of Brigadier General. Was killed at Savannah.

The same day.

NICOLAS ROGER.....Aid-de-camp of General du Coudray, breveted Major; promoted Lieutenant Colonel the 10th December, 1778.

The same day.

DE BEDEAUX.....Breveted captain, with pay from the 10th of May preceding. Appointed Lt. Colonel of the Legion of Pulaski, December 10th, 1778. Dead.

The same day.

BARON DE KALB .....Elected Major General of the Continental armies.

DE VRIGNY.....Captain; resigned October 21st, 1778.

October 4th.

CHEVALIER DU BUISSON.....Breveted major; retired in 1781.

November 16th.

CHEVALIER DE LA COLOMBE.....Aid-de-camp to M. de la Fayette, breveted Captain.

November 17th.

CHEVALIER DORSET .....Lieutenant in the volunteers who came over to America in the following of Tronson du Coudray. Congress accorded him a compensation for his return.

November 17th.

DE LAUMOI.....Breveted Colonel, in consideration of his services as engineer.

The same day.

DE GEMAT.....Aid-de-camp of M. de la Fayette, obtains the rank of Lt. Colonel in consideration of his services; promoted the following year to the rank of Colonel; receives the command of a regiment of Riflemen.

1778

January 1st.

CHEVAL. DE VILLEFRANCHE.....Engineer, with the rank of Major, under the orders of General du Portail.

January 2d.

DENIS DE BONCHET.....Is breveted Major in consideration of his services in the Northern Army, and Congress allows him a compensation to return to France on account of his health.

January 11th.

FERDINAND DE BRAHM.....Having served as Engineer in South Carolina, is breveted Engineer, with the rank of Major, in the service of the United States.

February 18th.

DE PONTHIERE.....Breveted Captain of Cavalry.

The same day.

DE PONCEAUX.....Breveted Captain.

and April 16th.....Captain, breveted Engineer to date from December 1st, 1776; breveted Major, November 5th.

June 13th.

DU CAMBRAY.....Attached to the corps of engineers commanded by General du Portail, with the rank of Lieutenant Colonel.

June 15th.

MARQUIS DE VIENNE.....Major in the French Troops, breveted Colonel; after having served as volunteer during one campaign, takes leave October the 27th to return to France.

September 18th.

BECHET DE ROCHEFONTAINE.....Breveted Engineer, with the rank of Captain.

October 23d.

DE L'ECLISE.....Employed in the Northern Army with the rank of Lieutenant Colonel.

October 27th.

M. TOUZAR.....Cáptain of Artillery in the regiment of La Fere, and serving as volunteer in America; having lost an arm in dismounting a battery and in taking one of the enemy's cannon, Congress gives him the rank of Colonel and a life pension of 30 dollars per month.

The same day.

M. BRICE.....Aid-de-camp to M. de la Fayette, breveted Lt. Colonel.

The same day.

DE NEVILLE.....Aid-de-camp to M. de la Fayette, breveted Lt. Colonel.

November 5th.

DE PONGIBEAN.....Volunteer, receives a compensation for his return to France.

November 7th.

CHEVALIER DE CREMIS.....Breveted Lt Colonel; retired in 1779.

LETTERS OF DE FERSEN

AID-DE-CAMP TO ROCHAMBEAU

WRITTEN TO HIS FATHER IN SWEDEN

1780–1782

Translated for the Magazine from Baron de Klinckowström's Count de Fersen
Paris—1878

II

Newport, 9th January, 1781

There is nothing new in our military movements, my dear father. It seems that we are all on the defensive, and it is quite difficult to know when the next campaign will open; that will probably depend upon the time when reinforcements arrive from Europe. Whoever receives them first should, it seems to me, profit by the advantage to attack the other. If those in France which are said to be intended for us are so in fact, we shall have for a time at least a superiority on the sea. This is the only way to carry on and bring to an end this war, which is as ruinous as it is long; so long as we are not masters of the sea, we may perhaps prevent the English from penetrating the country, but nothing can compel them to leave the coast; their commerce will continue to flourish, and will enable them to obtain supplies which they would necessarily be without but for this. So long as they remain masters of Quebec, Halifax, New York, Charleston and Jamaica, they will not make peace; it will only follow the ruin of their commerce and the capture of one or two of these places. This year that of Jamaica has been missed; I do not believe the opportunity will occur again. The reinforcement said to be intended for us is of eight vessels, one of 110 guns, three of 80, three of 74 and one of 64.

We do not know the number of the troops. This news only reaches us by a vessel arrived fifteen days ago in thirty-eight days; for since our arrival here we have not had any letters; this neglect on the part of the Minister or the Ministry is unpardonable.

The campaign in the South is more active than ours in the North. I have already sent you word, my dear father, that Lord Cornwallis, who commands the English troops in this section, had in the month of September a very considerable advantage over General Gates. Some time later his advance guard of 1,400 men, under the orders of Colonel Ferguson, having advanced imprudently into the country, was surrounded by 3,000 militia men, and wholly defeated. This accident, added to the sickness which began to show itself in the English army, forced Lord Cornwallis to fall back on Camden. During this time General Clinton sent 2,500 men to join Lord Cornwallis; they disembarked at Portsmouth in Virginia, but the retreat upon Camden preventing them from effecting the junction, they reembarked, and are gone it is said to Cape Fear. It is even said that the army of Cornwallis at Camden is surrounded, that they are suffering greatly from sickness and hunger, and have been reduced to eat their horses; this rumor needs confirmation. That of the embarkation of 2,500 men who have left New York for the South is more certain. It seems to be intended to join the other corps of the same force at Cape Fear, and to march from there upon Camden to deliver Cornwallis if he is surrounded, and to join him in order to begin operations. If this junction be effected, which it can hardly fail to be, all the South is lost; the Americans have no army there; that which was there was destroyed under Gates, and the little that remains does not deserve the name of an army; they are without clothing, shoes or arms. To oppose to these veteran and disciplined troops, there is but the militia, which only rallies when the danger is imminent, and who fly when it becomes great.

Such is the state of affairs in the South; ours is no better. We are obliged to remain tranquil spectators of the loss of this part of America, and we can not help ourselves. I have not yet made any journey into the country; several of the officers of the army are gone; I shall wait their return; what they have may seen and the blunders they will have made may be of service to me; I shall wait till the month of March.

The several States of America have just passed a resolve to raise an army of 20,000 men for three years; the allotment has been made, and it seems that the spirits of every one have risen again. It is hoped that all the recruits may be had by the 1st March. I hope so, but I am by no means sure of it. Some will be taken for three years, others for the whole war; but neither the one nor the other will be willing to serve for nothing; it is only by heavy engagements that the different regiments can be completed. Money is scarce, indeed there is none; the taxes are inadequate; no credit, no resources. This would be the moment to be of some assistance to them, and to make amends

for the lazy and useless campaign we have made, by supplying them with the money and clothing they are in need of; but we shall be in the same situation of need ourselves if some does not arrive soon from France, and be driven to the shameful necessity of paying our army in paper.

You see, my dear father, by this showing, which is very exact, the reasons which stand in the way of the formation of an army, which can only be raised and kept up by means of money; add to this that the spirit of patriotism only exists in the chief and principal men in the country, who are making very great sacrifices; the rest who make up the great mass think only of their personal interests. Money is the controlling idea in all their actions, they only think of how it may be gained; every one is for himself, no one for the general good. The inhabitants of the coast, even the best Whigs, carry to the English fleet anchored in Gardner Bay provisions of all kinds, and this because they are well paid; they overcharge us mercilessly; every thing is enormously dear; in all the dealings we have had with them they have treated us more like enemies than friends. Their greed is unequalled, money is their God; virtue, honor, all count for nothing to them compared with the precious metal. I do not mean that there are no estimable people of noble and generous character: there are many, but I speak of the nation in general; I believe that they are more like the Dutch than the English.

This, my dear father, is my opinion upon the country, the inhabitants and upon this war; it agrees with that entertained by persons better informed and better able to judge than I. With troops, ships and much money, all this will change; but if enough of this last article for the wants of ourselves and our allies is not soon sent over, nothing is mended, and the French Ministry will cap the climax of its stupidity. We have just received a painful piece of news, that of the desertion of the Pennsylvania line; so they call about 2500 men raised in this province; they have gone over to the English, because of their discontent, or rather their want of every thing. They have neither clothing nor shoes, and even were without food for three or four days. There is a rumor that they changed their minds on the way, and that they returned to their duty, sending six sergeants to treat with Congress of the conditions upon which they will return to duty; this last rumor needs confirmation. However this may be, this desertion is a dangerous example. It shows the reliance to be put in such troops. We have no fresh news from the South; we do not know what is happening there.

Newport, 14th January, 1781

We receive details of two affairs to the southward, in which the Americans had the advantage. Some small detachments were repulsed. The Pennsylvania line has not gone over to the English; it has taken a very strong position near Morristown. Everything was conducted in the most perfect order; the sergeants are at the head of the affair. There are two officers; they conduct themselves perfectly well, sending into the country to take whatever they happen

to need, and giving receipts which Congress, they say, will pay. General Clinton sent two spies to them with a letter, in which he promised them the fourteen months pay which is due them, a gratification in addition, new clothing, and in the future the pay of English troops. He promises them that they shall always remain a separate corps in the English army and be commanded by their own officers; he promises promotion and considerable reward to the leaders. Notwithstanding all these promises they arrested the spies and hung them. Congress has just sent three of its members to treat with them; they have named six of their sergeants and invested them with full power. They demand the fourteen months' pay due them, clothing and subsistence for the future. This demand would certainly be granted them but the difficulty is to find the money; it will only be found with difficulty. This would be the moment for us to supply it and to aid them with all that is requisite to appease the rebellion; but we have nothing, and without prompt assistance from France we shall have nothing left in a month with which to pay our own army.

There is a coolness between Washington and M. de Rochambeau; the dissatisfaction is on the part of the American General, ours is ignorant of the reason. He has given me orders to go with a letter from him, and to inform myself of the reason for his discontent, to heal the breach if possible, or if the affair be more grave to report to him the cause. You see, my dear father, that I am in diplomacy; this is my first trial. I shall try to come out from it with honor.

Newport, 3d April, 1781

It is impossible to form any opinion concerning the war operations we are about to undertake here. I cannot even form a plan before seeing the turn affairs will take after this campaign. The war cannot last long; it must be an affair of one or two campaigns at the most; I think, even, that if this campaign be as vigorous as it promises to be, it will be the last. This country is not in a condition to sustain a longer war; it is ruined; no more money, no more men; if France does not assist them with vigor they will be obliged to make peace. Up to the present time she has not made any great effort. We have been for ten months, a handful of men, on this island; we have, as yet, been of no service; the South is devastated by the English; we cannot send any troops there because of our small number, and if the English manage well the entire South will be taken. Discouragement will follow this loss, and peace will be the certain consequence.

We are expecting news from this part of the country. It is said that Lord Cornwallis, who commanded the English troops at the South, having advanced imprudently into the country, had been forced to fall back; that he had taken a favorable position, but that he was surrounded by the militia of the country, and to all appearance must be captured or terribly cut up on his retreat. But now a whole month has passed without any confirmation of this news, and I can hardly believe it. The first information we have will be interesting.

I informed you, my dear father, that Arnold had been sent to Chesapeake Bay to do all the damage possible. He has been there since the month of January. It was resolved to send a detachment to undertake his capture by arranging a combined operation with 1,500 Americans under the orders of M. de Lafayette; 1,700 men embarked upon the fleet, under the orders of the Baron de Vioménil; they left the 18th March. I add to this an account of what happened and of the combat they had. You will see that it is not to our disadvantage. We say that we won, but it was not, however, our object that we won, for the English are where we should be and we were compelled to return here. Until now I have always believed that in war a detachment was only victorious when it completely realized the object for which it was formed. Two of our vessels were so roughly handled, that as M. Destouches was about to make signal to renew the engagement, these two vessels signaled very severe damages. Only four of the English ships were closely engaged, the others fired from a distance. The number of our killed and wounded reaches nearly 300; only 200 are set down in the report. In one of them which I send you I have corrected the grossest blunders which appear. To correct all that there are it would be necessary to rewrite it.

Newport, 11th April, 1781

In the South the English under the orders of Lord Cornwallis have just had a very considerable advantage over General Greene, who commands the American army in that section. We do not know what results may follow this advantage; I believe no other than the rendering of the retreat of Lord Cornwallis more secure. He had advanced too far into the interior and his supplies had began to fail him. If he only draws this fruit from his victory it is still a very great one. I hear this general accused every day of rashness and want of skill, but I cannot make up my mind to consider a man a bad general, who, until now, has always been successful, and who, having penetrated into a hostile country too far, begins his retreat under the eyes of his enemy, halts in an advantageous position, beats the enemy, forces them to fall back 20 miles from the field of battle, and secures a comfortable and easy retreat. This war is to the honor of the English, although their generals have behaved very badly in America. I very much fear it will not be as much to our own.

It seems that the winter is all over here. We are now enjoying the finest weather imaginable; it is even warm quite often.

We are daily expecting a merchant convoy and the second division. The arrival of these troops will decide, I suppose, the operations of this campaign.

Newport, 13th May, 1781

Since my last nothing has happened here. We remain quietly at Newport, the English at New York and General Washington at New Windsor, on the Hudson river. God knows when we shall leave this position. We have been here now a long time. The southern cam-

paign draws also to its close. We are approaching the summer, a season in which all operations are impossible, unless with very considerable losses from heat and the bad atmosphere. Lord Cornwallis, who had advanced too far into a hostile country, finding difficulty in obtaining supplies, was compelled to fall back. General Greene, with 4,000 men and as many militia, worried him greatly in his retreat. Lord Cornwallis halted in a favorable position, waited for General Greene and an action began. All the militia, after the first fire, broke and ran home; not one stopped until he reached his house. The rest were repulsed and forced to fall back to a point 12 miles distant. Lord Cornwallis continued his retreat to Camden, and thence, I suppose, to Charleston, where he will pass the sickly season, and begin the campaign again in the fall.

We are making all preparation for the march; everybody is arranging his equipments. I have already informed you, my dear father, of what mine is composed. My companions have *cantines*, but I think this a heavy and useless expense. I shall be, perhaps a little less comfortable, but no matter, it would involve too great an expense.

Newport, 17th May, 1781

It is impossible to form any conjecture upon the campaign we are about to begin; nothing has leaked out of the news which the General has received from France, so that we know nothing of the strength of the reinforcement that is on the way; some say 620; others 1,500 men; others pretend that M. de Grasse, who went to the Islands [West Indies] with twenty-one vessels and 10,000 troops, will come here with a part as soon as the climate renders operations impossible in that quarter, say in the month of July or August. If this should be the case we will at once undertake the seige of New York, and may reasonably hope with some success. Without this it is a chimera and impossibility to which we have already made great sacrifices. If succor as considerable as these do not arrive we will evacuate Rhode Island, and establish our storehouses at Providence, whither we have already sent a part of our artillery and army stores. We will march towards the North river; we will approach New York which we will threaten, in order to prevent General Clinton from making any detachments and to give Washington time to reach Virginia, drive out Arnold, and destroy the base the English seem disposed to establish there. Perhaps, also, the Americans may remain before New York and we may be entrusted with the Virginia expedition. I should like this better.

Such was the plan of campaign of the General before the arrival of the frigate which brought him out a new Admiral and despatches from the Court. Since then I know not what change there may be, but I believe that at least until the arrival of M. de Grasse nothing will be changed. In a few days there will be another conference between General Washington and M. de Rochambeau, at the same place as last year, at Hartford, 40 leagues from here; then the plan of campaign will probably be agreed upon;

so that it be active and that something be done I shall be content. We have been long enough in inaction—in shameful inaction. It would have been of more use to the Americans to have sent out the money which we have cost the King here; they would have employed it to better purpose. An army of 15,000 men was required here or nothing; 5,000 were sent out, who have been now for a year in garrison at Newport, and of no use, unless it be in having consumed a great quantity of provisions and raised their price. I hope we shall soon wake up from this lethargy and take an active part.

I will not speak to you of my private business, my dear father; since the last in which I mentioned it to you nothing new has happened, or it is more correct to say, I have heard nothing of it. I heartily wish it could be arranged, for I am beginning to grow weary of M. de Rochambeau. He treats me with distinction, it is true, and I am very grateful for it; but he is distrustful in a way that is disagreeable and indeed insulting; he places more confidence in me than in my comrades, but that he grants me is meagre enough; he has no more in his general officers, who are quite dissatisfied, as are the higher officers of the army. They have, however, the good sense to conceal it and keep harmony for the good of the cause.

We push our economy so far that we have not even a spy at New York, because that would cost perhaps 50 louis a month; we prefer to receive our news from General Washington, and to leave to the Americans, who have no money to pay for them, the care of getting them. The spies who are there work for the love of country. Owing to this we always get our news too late, and we shall end in having none at all, for people soon weary of exercising gratis a trade that leads to the gallows.

We are getting ready to march, but I do not know when we shall march in fact. A part of the munitions of artillery and the heavy army wagons are already in the stores at Providence. The general officers are completing their equipments.

Our army continues to be as little disciplined as the French army ordinarily is. The leaders are, however, very severe, and there is not a day that two or three officers are not under arrest. I have witnessed scenes so unbecoming that a whole corps deserved to be broken; but we are only 5,000 men, and can afford to lose nothing.

The fleet received orders to sail yesterday, and we supply 500 soldiers to complete the ships' crews; there are hardly any sailors left and the several forces are compelled to supply them. This puts the Colonels in very bad humor, and rightly enough; it distresses me; there are 500 men the less and we need all our soldiers. I believe the squadron goes out to meet the convoy which is coming to us. It is reported that the English have sent out ten ships and a frigate to capture them.

Newport, 3d June, 1781

At last we are off; in eight or ten days the army will be on the march. This is the result of the conference between the two Generals. What the plan of campaign is, whither we are

going, is and should be a secret. I hope we may be active, and that we shall not be moved from New York only to garrison some other little town. Our fleet remains here under guard of the American militia and 400 of our troops. I heartily pity those who will be ordered to this detachment. The whole army is enchanted to leave.

Nothing has happened in this country since my last. The English are making progress in the south; they burn and waste everything; but they scatter money, make friends, and within a short time all this section of America will be conquered; the English will then acknowledge the independence of the provinces of the North, or at least will treat them as independent, and hold on to those of the South. Think whether that would be glorious for the hopes of the King! What confirms me in this idea is that everything seems to indicate a total evacuation of New York. Several detachments have been already made; another, of 2,500 men, has just been made. Besides many things are sent off at night, and after sundown no inhabitant is allowed to go out of doors. If they evacuate New York wholly to carry their forces to the southward they will be wise. I am compelled to close.

NOTES

THE EMPIRE STATE.—It is known but to very few persons that the name or soubriquet of the State of New York, which is generally called the "Empire State," is not assumed by our citizens out of State pride, but was first given by General Washington.

The proof of this may be found in his reply to the address of the Common Council of the city of New York, signed by James Duane, Mayor, and dated the 2d of December, 1784. In this letter he says: 'I pray that Heaven may bestow its choicest blessing on your city—That the devastation of war in which you found it may soon be without a trace. That a well regulated and beneficial commerce may enrichen your citizens—And that your State (at present the seat of the Empire) may set such examples of wisdom and liberality as shall have a tendency to strengthen and give a permanency to the Union at home—and credit and respectability to it abroad."

H. E. P.

Pierrepont Place, Brooklyn, N. Y.

EPITAPH OF A SOLDIER OF THE REVOLUTION. — "Captain Oliver Brown, of the Artillery of the Massachusetts Line, Revolutionary War. — Born in Lexington, Mass., 1752— He stood in front of the first Cannon fired by the British on the Americans in the Affray at Lexington—witnessed the Tea Party, Boston Harbour—was at the Battle of Bunker's Hill—Commissioned by Congress 16th of January 1776 — Commanded the Volunteer party that bore off the Leaden Statue of King George from the Battery of New York, and made it into bullets for the American army—Bore a conspicuous part in Command of Artillery at the battles of Harlem Heights, White Plains, Princeton, Trenton, Brandywine, Germantown and Monmouth. After serving his Country he enlisted in the Armies of the Son of God, and surrendered to the last Enemy

on the 17th of February, 1846, in full assurance of a never-ending *Peace.*"

H. E. H.

A SECOND HOWARD MEDAL—In the account of the dinner given by the Society of the Cincinnati to Lafayette, in Baltimore, reprinted in Niles' Register for October 16th, 1824, two swords

are mentioned, one of which had been voted to General Smith, the other to Commodore Barney, by Congress.

"From the point where the two swords crossed each other were suspended two precious revolutionary relics, the high rewards also, of a grateful country, to one of her best and bravest sons. They were two silver medals which the revolutionary Congress had presented to Colonel John Eager Howard. Upon the first was the device of an officer on horseback," etc., etc. (Here follows a description of the Cowpens Medal.) "The other medal has the device of an officer pointing with his sword to a retreating enemy and beckoning to his men to advance; whilst hovering in the air is the figure of Justice, with her scales. The motto is 'Virtute et Justicia Valet.' On the reverse is the figure of an officer treading upon the British lion and flag, with one hand piercing him with a spear, and the other holding the end of a chain passing around the body of the animal. The motto around the device is 'Vinculis suis Vinctus.'"

Mrs. Read, my mother's sister, now the only surviving child of Colonel Howard, remembers that at the time of the dinner given in Baltimore by the Cincinnati Society to Lafayette, in 1824, she took me and my cousin, John Eager Howard, to the house at which the dinner was given, and that whilst she remained in a private room, we two boys were taken into the dining-room toward the close of the entertainment, and that Colonel Howard gave to each of us one of his revolutionary medals. The second medal described in the account of that dinner published in Niles' Regis-

ter, is that which I now have; it is, I am told, not technically a medal, being not in relief, but an engraved disc; there probably, therefore, exists no duplicate of it. I have been unable to find in any history at my command mention of the award of a medal to Colonel Howard by Congress or by any State Government other than that of the award to him by Congress for conduct at the battle of Cowpens; and I am, therefore, unable to ascertain by what authority, and in commemoration of what event, the medal described in Niles' Register, and now in my possession, was presented to Colonel Howard. It bears no personal inscription and no date.

J. HOWARD MCHENRY.

Baltimore, 1879.

ANDRÉ AND ARNOLD.—The new issue of the Encyclopedia Brittanica, 9th edition, now being published through Scribner & Co., in an article under the head of "André," says of the execution of this unfortunate man: "Washington sent him before a court-martial, and notwithstanding a splendid defence, and the remonstrance of the British General, who did all he could to save him, Major André was executed as a spy on the 2d October, 1780—a sentence perhaps justified by the exreme rigour of martial law, as he had been in disguise within the lines of the enemy; but the traitor, Arnold, through the address of poor André, escaped by timely flight the punishment he justly merited." The Encyclopediæ Americana, 1843, gives six pages of two columns each to Arnold; but the Encyclopedia Brittanica does not even mention his name except under the head of André. H. E. H.

QUERIES

PEARL STREET (N. Y.) NUMBERING.—Do the street numbers of Pearl street, as we know them to-day, represent the same as given a century ago to Queen street? Pearl street was the name given to the one block running west from Whitehall street; the two blocks to the east were named respectively Dock street and Little Dock street; following these the name of Hanover Square appears by the map of 1728 to run to Wall street, then begins Queen street, now Pearl; and the latter name has since absorbed both Hanover Square and Dock streets. Dock street had its own numbers, beginning at Whitehall street. I have a letter, written to "Mr. George Morton, No. 15 Dock street, New York," dated and post-marked Philadelphia, 15 January, 1785. I make the present number of this address to be our 39 Pearl street. Dock street was so named, as it was in fact our forefathers' South street, a street of docks. It was after 1785 that Queen street was substituted by Pearl. By what process was the street, whose name was so patriotically changed, new numbered from the numbers of the original Pearl street? T. H. M.

A MINOT.—M. Du Quesue, in a letter to the Marquis de Vraudreuil, dated Quebec, the 6th July, 1755, writes: "Fort Du Quesue could in less than two years support itself, since in the very first year 700 *minots* of Indian corn have been gathered there, and from the clearings that have been made there since, it is calculated that if the harvest were good at least 2000 *minots* could be saved," etc. What is a minot?

Alleghany, Pa. I. C.

TAMMANY SOCIETY IN TROY, N. Y.— I have met with the statement, that in the year 1809 a black and white Tammany Society existed in the then village of Troy, N. Y. A negro named Pomp and one Hubbard, a white man, were the rival sachems. Is the statement a correct one? SPUYTEN-DUYVEL.

MUSCIPULA. — Who wrote "Muscipula sive Cambromyomachia; The Mouse-trap, or the battle of the Welsh and the Mice; in Latin and English?" It was published, "with other poems, in different languages, by an American," about 1840 in New York. W. P.

MCPHEADRES.—Can any reader of the Magazine of American History furnish information in regard to the family of McPheadres, one of whom, Catharine, was married to Robert Gilbert, eldest son of Guisbert or Gilbert Livingston, the second or third son of Robert Livingston, the first of the name in this country? This marriage occurred about a century and a half since. The McPheadres must have been a family of position, as was testified by the silver which has descended to their heirs at the present day. H. W. J.

WASHINGTON'S SPY IN NEW YORK.— Winthrop Sargent in his Life of André, speaking of the spies employed by Washington, says: "One, whose observations perhaps saved Washington's life, was able by his connections with the West Indian house of Kortwright and Company to unsuspectedly pick up much useful information for our army. Yet his character was so little affected by these transactions that he remained the valued friend of both Hamilton and Washington; and it was perhaps to set his patriotism straight in the public view that our general on the final entrance into the city took his first breakfast at his house. Arnold had him seized, and tried hard to hang him, when he first came over, but there was not enough evidence."

Can any reader of the Magazine tell me the name of the person here referred to? C. A. C.

REPLIES

THE ROYAL PORTRAITS IN THE FIRST CONGRESS. — (III, 55.) *Philadelphia, April* 1, 1784. Saturday last (March 27th) arrived in this port, on board the ship Queen of France, the pictures of their most Christian Majesties. the King and Queen. They are in full length. The King in garments like those he wore on the day of his coronation. The royal throne is on the left side, decorated with the attributes of justice, as marks of the disposition of our great ally; he holds the ancient sceptre of France in his hand, and the crown with the hand of justice lie on a cushion on his right. This is said by the connoisseurs to be a masterly piece of the art of painting.

The Queen is dressed in a royal mantle opened with a fleur de luce, and a gown of sattin trimmed with gold fringes and tassels. On a table lies her crown next to a vase filled with flowers. The table is covered with red velvet, embroidered with the Imperial eagle of her family.

Each picture is about thirteen feet six inches high, including the frames.—*Pennsylvania Packet, April* 1, 1784.

PETERSFIELD.

REVOLUTIONARY PENSIONERS.—(III, 263.) In the annual report of the Commissioner of Pensions to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1874, p. 4, appears the following paragraph: "With the death of Daniel T. Bakeman, of Freedom, Cattaraugus Co., New York, April 5, 1869, the last of the pensioned soldiers of the Revolution passed away."

Washington. J. F. H.

THE COLUMBIAD.—(III, 55.) Cannot "Collector" be obliging enough to give a further account of a "volume printed in New York in 1798, entitled 'Columbiad,' an epic poem in Twelve Books?" I cannot find any account of such a book. Joel Barlow's famous "Columbiad, a poem in ten books," was printed in Philadelphia in 1807. Were there two Columbiads?

Columbia College. B. R. BETTS.

CAPTAIN SMITH ON THE STAGE.—(III, 55.) Dramaticus can possibly find all he desires in Rev. C. D. Neill's "Early Settlement of Virginia and Virgineola as noticed by Poets and Players in times of Shakespeare," etc.

Brownsville, Pa. H. E. H.

DE BRY'S VOYAGES.—(III, 262) The information desired can be found in "Stevens' Bibliotheca Historica," and "Sabin's Dictionary." In the catalogue of Mr. Field's Indian Library (sold May, 1875), opposite page 72, Mr. Sabin gives four pages about DeBry, describing a set of his voyages "absolutely perfect," except four pages of part XIII. This set sold for $648 at Field's sale.

Brownsville, Pa. H. E. H.

VAN CORTLANDT, THE ROYALIST.—(II, 500.) This gentleman was cousin to Brigadier-General Philip Van Cortlandt, of the Continental army. For further particulars see the genealogical chart in the first volume of Bolton's History of Westchester County.

The articles on Philip and Pierre Van Cortlandt in Drake's "Dictionary of American Biography" contain the greatest number of blunders in the smallest space that I have ever had the ill-fortune to meet with. C. A. C.

COL. ROBINSON'S LETTER TO ARNOLD.—(II. 756.) Sargent merely states it *on the authority of Marbois*, that this letter was found amongst Arnold's papers. Mr. Sargent's own shrewd conjecture is that (supposing the letter to be genuine) it was written by Beverly Robinson.

"Marbois," said Winthrop Sargent, "may have had access to information or documents now unknown, as all of Arnold's papers, both at West Point and Philadelphia, were seized, and apparently scattered in various hands. Certainly some of Marbois' statements are not easily reconciled with the current history of the time; but it is incredible that he should give *with quotation marks* translations of letters that had no existence but in his own imagination."

C. A. C.

(Publishers of Historical Works wishing Notices, will address the Editor, with Copies, Box 100, Station D—N. Y. Post office.)

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL LAW. Designed as an Aid in Teaching and in Historical Studies. By THEODORE D. WOOLSEY. Fifth edition. Revised and enlarged. Crown 8vo, pp. 526. CHARLES SCRIBNER & SONS. New York, 1879.

This work, recognized as a text-book on the important subject of which it treats, made its first appearance, at a time when it was most needed, just before the late civil war, in which the principles of an international code were to be put to severe test in practice under new circumstances. A second edition, with some changes in order of arrangement, and much new matter, appeared in 1864; to a third was added a supplement, bringing the list of treaties down to the time of publication, and an appendix on subjects newly brought into prominence by the war of the rebellion. The fourth edition contained still further additions, and now in a fifth, entirely rewritten and enlarged, and printed from new stereotype plates, under the supervision of the author, are given the final touches to this probably last edition which will appear of the work.

Dr. Woolsey, in the cool impartiality of a well-balanced and judicial mind, has not sought to excuse the errors or wrongs committed by our Government in its diplomatic relations with other countries. We remember to have heard the late Albert Gallatin, a supreme authority on this subject, say, that up to the period of the Mexican war there had been no blot on the fair escutcheon of the United States. Mr. Woolsey cannot now conscientiously repeat such a verdict as this.

In his treatment of the subject he has had in view rather the enlightenment of young men of liberal education than that of lawyers as a special class, and wisely, since it seems to be almost a settled policy of the Government to select men of general literary culture for high diplomatic posts in preference to mere lawyers. The several chapters of Part I. treat of the origin and growth of International law; the powers and obligations of States; their rights as independent sovereignties; their territorial and property rights; the rights of intercourse and of resident foreigners; the forms and agents of international intercourse; contracts and treaties. Part II. is wholly devoted to International Law and usage in a state of war. Appendix I contains a selection of works on international law; Appendix II, a list of treaties since the Reformation.

The eminent fitness of the late distinguished President of Yale College for a work of this character needs no comment at our hands. It is compact in method, and clear in language, and in every way thorough.

SKETCH OF THE LIFE OF THE HONORABLE JOHN READ OF BOSTON, 1722–1749. By GEORGE B. REED. 8vo, pp. 18. Appendix, iv. Privately printed. Boston, 1879.

The subject of this sketch, from the pen of the well-known Law Bookseller of Brattle street, Boston, was a distinguished lawyer and citizen of that city in the middle of the last century, who has only hitherto received slight biographical notice in Knapp's "Sketches of Eminent Lawyers," published in 1821.

John Read, whose fame as a brilliant advocate was well known in the generation of lawyers to which Gridley, Trowbridge and Pynchon belonged, and a tradition of that of Lowell and Parsons, was a native of Connecticut, but a graduate of Harvard in 1697. He began life as a minister, but later studied law, and was admitted attorney at the bar in 1708, and appointed Queen's Attorney in 1712. In 1719 he was appointed by Connecticut one of the commissioners on the boundary between that Colony and New York. In 1720 he was one of the commissioners of Massachusetts to consult with those of other Colonies as to means to restore credit to the paper money in circulation. His fame as a lawyer arose from his great knowledge of special pleading. He was a member of the House of Representatives in 1738, and of the Governor's Council under Belcher and Shirley in 1741 and 1742. He died in 1749, leaving a large estate. For the information of the curious, the author has added to his entertaining sketch an inventory of the law-books in Mr. Read's library, forty-three in number.

THE HAND-BOOK OF MOUNT DESERT, COAST OF MAINE. With all the Routes thither; Descriptions of the Scenery and Topography; Sketches of the History, with illustrations, and a map of Mount Desert, and Penobscot and Frenchman's Bay, from the United States Coast Survey. 16mo, pp. 161. W. WILLIAMS & Co., Boston. T. WHITTAKER, New York.

This is a guide-book after our own heart. It provides the indispensable information as to the best method of reaching this charming spot, which wears quite another face, with all its improvements, from what it did when Champlain had his first pow-wow with the Indians not far

distant, and much kindly advice as to where best to lay the weary head and to supply the cravings of the inner appetite, which scenery excites, but does not satisfy; and besides all this, tells the reader what to see and how to see it; not in a doctoral manner, but spicing much learning with pleasant narrative. Mr. Oldstyle, who plays the historian of the island, is always ready for a nineteenth century joke, and is never; no—"hardly ever" pedantic in his recital of the many wonderful events that have befallen Mount Desert. No one can say that they have seen this famous spot, once all desert, now all oasis, that has not seen it with this guide in hand.

BARNES' ONE TERM HISTORY — A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES FOR SCHOOLS. 16mo, pp. 298—xlvi. A. S. BARNES & Co. New York, Chicago and New Orleans [1879].

This, a school-book on another plan, is intended as a history to be mastered in a single term. The method adopted is a division into epochs, each of which is preceded by questions and a map. The text comprises only the important events, explanations and illustrations being given in notes at the foot of the page. The events are then classified under general topics, which are given in a larger type at the beginning of each paragraph. A form of mnemotechnics is introduced to fix principal events and dates in the memory. Partisan treatment is avoided, and the new States have their full space accorded. Finally a series of questions is appended under the title of Historical Recreations. Colored maps illustrate the wars of the continent and the territorial development of the United States. An index closes the volume, which seems well adapted to the purpose intended.

THE NEW PURITAN—NEW ENGLAND TWO HUNDRED YEARS AGO. Some account of the Life of ROBERT PIKE, the Puritan, who defended the Quakers, resisted clerical domination, and opposed the witchcraft prosecution. By JAMES S. PIKE. 12mo, pp. 237. HARPER & BROTHERS. New York, 1879.

Chief Justice Sewall, the same who sinned so grievously in the judicial execution of the Salem witches, and so honestly atoned for his sin in his manly confession, has been aptly styled the last of the Puritans. He has been said to have outlived his time. Robert Pike, of whom Whittier said that he was one of the wisest and worthiest of the early settlers of the valley of the Merrimac, is here styled by his biographer the New Puritan. He was born in 1616, while Sewall did not come into the world until nearly half a century later.

Pike, who was of English birth, lived through the century, dying in 1706 in his ninety-first year. In this period he was engaged in three conspicuous controversies, which become the salient chapters in his biography, and entitle him to the attention of the historic student. The first was his arraignment in 1653 by the General Court of Massachusetts for his criticisms on its legislative treatment of the Quakers, for which he was by them tried, convicted, fined and disfranchised. The General Court of Massachusetts did not endure any hostile aspersions. They made a broad distinction between liberty of conscience and freedom of speech. Let it not be forgotten that the rule of Massachusetts was almost Mosaic in its theocracy. The second occasion was the arraignment of Pike in 1675 for resistance to the dogmatic authority of his pastor, John Wheelwright, and through him of the clergy, and his discipline and excommunication therefor. The third was his opposition to the Salem witchcraft prosecution of 1692, in the justice of which the better sense of the people soon joined. The peculiarity of his attitude in all these controversies lies in the fact that he was both orthodox and conservative, and a thorough Puritan. Hence, perhaps, the title now given him of the *New* Puritan.

His life was characteristic of the time. His early education was received in England. He was nineteen when he left Southampton for America with his father. He joined the colony which settled Salisbury on the Merrimac in 1639. In his struggles with the General Court he was nobly sustained by his fellow-citizens, and returned to it by them as their representative. He filled the part of Captain of the Salisbury troop of horse, and was busily employed in his command during the King Philip's war. In one of its intermissions, when the Indians sued for peace, he was appointed head of the commission to treat as to terms. His active life closed in 1695. His last ten years were spent at home.

An appendix contains—I. The depositions taken by him in the case of Susannah Martin, executed as a witch in 1692; II. Case of Mary Bradbury, accused of witchcraft; III. Robert Pike's real estate transactions, 1651–1705; IV. The administration on his estate; V. The will of Timothy Pike, his grandson; VI. Some curious court records. The serious inquirer will find grave matter in the perusal of this volume.

NOTICE

The descriptive list of Washington portraits announced in the April number, is being prepared by Mr. William S. Baker, of Philadelphia. The conjunction of another name with his in the announcement was an error. EDITOR.

JOHN ADAMS DIX

A funeral at old Trinity, and a burial in the hallowed ground of its ancient graveyard, is always an imposing scene. The massive building, with its broad buttresses and towering spire, looks down upon the busiest street on the American Continent, and under its shadow amid the dust of generations upon generations lie the remains of a host of illustrious dead. The contrast between the solemn quiet within and the ceaseless hum of the stirring world without the railing is always solemn. The most eager hurrying passer pauses on his way, startled by the unexpected reminder of the inevitable end of each earthly career. But most solemn, most impressive are the rare occasions when one of "the great of earth" is gathered to his fathers. Then at the first toll of the summoning bell the busy life without is instantly paralyzed, and attentive thousands collect around the inclosure to witness the majestic ceremonies with which the church accompanies the final commitment of dust to dust.

Spectacles are historic instructors. They play an important part in national education, and they should be encouraged rather than deprecated. The eye is the most perfect of our organs, the readiest aid to our intelligence. Things seen stamp themselves upon the retina, and remain fixed pictures when things heard have long faded from memory. Of all scenes the most impressive is a military funeral. The ordered pomp of the bier, the measured tread and reversed arms of the accompanying escort, the solemn notes of the dirge, with its beat of muffled drums, leave an indelible trace on the mind. No one of the long line of heroes, whose last obsequies have been the occasion of such a public solemnity, was more deserving of these honors than the admirable man whose body was on Thursday, the 24th of April, committed to the earth in Trinity Church-yard. In the general respect for his character, and in remembrance of the varied posts of honor and usefulness he had filled in his long and ample life, a civic and military display, unrivalled in the history of the city, was the desire of the whole community in which he lived, and the eyes of the nation were turned to New York to witness the historic pageant. But, in accordance with the strict instructions laid by him upon his family in his last hours, no such ceremony accompanied the funeral of General Dix.

The great assemblage which gathered at the head of Wall street was not called together by any summons, but was a spontaneous popular tribute to the memory of his services and his virtues. Within the church large delegations from the State and Municipal Legislatures, the army and the navy, the professions and all the corporations of commerce, science, literature and art filled every seat and standing place, except the great aisle and the chancel, in which the clergy and choristers were gathered. But, as if in compensation for the lack of any military appurtenances, the execution of a dying wish of the lamented patriot gave to the scene a dramatic tinge, heroic in its simplicity. He had asked that the coffin in which he was buried should be draped with the American flag. So long as history remains to tell the story of the great civic war, in which he performed illustrious service, the famous words, in which with soldierly instinct he crystallized the patriotic sentiment of the country into a devotion to the Flag, the symbol of its integrity, will be graven in imperishable characters on the hearts of our people. History will preserve with equal fidelity the simple and affecting scene which Trinity Church presented when his coffin, gracefully wrapped in the stars and stripes, was borne up the broad aisle, and laid at the foot of the chancel.

John Adams Dix was born at Boscawen, New Hampshire, on the 24th July, 1798. He died in New York on the 21st April, 1879. The son of Timothy Dix, a Lieutenant-Colonel in the United States Army, an excellent officer and an ardent patriot, he was early destined to the military profession; and after schooling at the Exeter Academy, and a subsequent course of study in the College of the Sulpicians at Montreal, he was on the breaking out of the war of 1812 summoned home by his father, who obtained for him an appointment as cadet in the United States Army, and an assignment to duty in Baltimore, where he was himself was stationed as recruiting officer. The young cadet's duties, however, were merely clerical, and he had ample time to pursue his studies at St. Mary's College in Baltimore, where he acquired great proficiency in the languages. The next year (1813) he received an Ensign's commission, and was assigned to duty in his father's regiment, the Fourteenth Infantry, then at Sackett's Harbor. Soon after his arrival in camp he was promoted Third Lieutenant in the Twenty-third Infantry, in 1814 made Second Lieutenant, and in June of the same year transferred to an artillery regiment. He saw some hard service on the St. Lawrence as Adjutant of Upham's independent battalion. In 1816 he was promoted First Lieutenant, in 1819 made Aid-de-Camp to General Brown, in 1821 transferred to the First and later to the Third Artillery, in which he received a captaincy in 1825. In 1826 he married, and retired from the service; the prospect of a long peace offering no adequate promise to his enterprising, ambitious spirit.

After a visit to Cuba and Europe he applied himself assiduously to the study of the law, and was admitted to the bar in 1828. The prac-

tice of the law, however, did not satisfy him, and he at once took an ardent interest in politics, attaching himself naturally enough to the Jackson party. As a reward for his political services in the campaign, which closed with the triumphant election of the hero of New Orleans, Dix was in 1830 appointed Adjutant-General of the State, a position in which his military experience was of signal service. In 1833 he was elected Secretary of State. His practical knowledge of engineering was here of service in the Canal Board, and his fine literary training on the Board of Public Instruction, of both of which he was by virtue of his office a member.

In 1841 and 1842 he represented the county of Albany in the Legislature, and was one of the celebrated Albany Regency, a political oligarchy, which ruled the Democratic party with a rod of iron. On his return from a second visit to Europe in 1844 he was elected to the Senate to the United States, to fill the unexpired term of Silas Wright, who had resigned to run for Governor of the State of New York. All these were the well-devised plans of the Regency to hold the control of the State.

It was as Senator that Dix had the first opportunity of showing the independence and uprightness of his character. The slavery question was already beginning to control national legislation and to divide parties. To a man like Dix, whose early years were passed in the free air of the New Hampshire hills, and all of whose instincts were on the side of personal liberty, there could be no hesitation. He became at once the leader of the Free Soil wing of the Democratic party of New York, and its candidate for Governor in 1848, but was defeated by Hamilton Fish, and the Legislature also having passed into the hands of the Whig party, he was replaced in the Senate by Mr. Seward.

On the election of Pierce as President in 1852 he had the tender of important posts in his administration and abroad, but the ostracism of the Southern leaders would not allow of his acceptance. He received the appointment of Assistant United States Treasurer in New York in 1853, but his want of sympathy with the authorities at Washington soon led to his resignation of the office. In 1859 he was appointed Postmaster of New York.

The crisis of his career is now reached. On the breaking up of Buchanan's Cabinet at the outset of secession, Dix was forced upon the President as Secretary of the Treasury. It was in the short period that he held this post that he issued the famous order to a subordinate in New Orleans—"If any man attempt to haul down the American flag, shoot him on the spot." Nor would he have asked of his subordinate that which he would not have done himself. In the administration of justice he was stern as an ancient Roman, as he showed when Governor of New York. No persuasion could bend his decision where public interests required the sternest application of the law.

After presiding at the famous meeting in Union Square, which electrified the country, on the news of the attack on Fort Sumter, he threw himself at once into the contest which had been summarily forced on the country, received the appointments of Brigadier and Major General of Volunteers in quick succession, and was assigned first to the Baltimore district, the post of danger, then to Fortress Monroe, and finally to the Eastern Department, with his headquarters at New York, in which difficult field his great administrative faculties were of invaluable assistance to the Government.

In 1866 he was appointed Minister to France, a post for which he was eminently fitted by the accomplishments of his mind, the graces of his person, and the dignified courtesy of his manners. Returned home in 1872, he was the unanimous choice of the Republican party for Governor, and elected by an immense majority. With this service his public life closed. While in its review no incident of special brilliancy attracts attention, it will be found that he was equal to every emergency, and showed a reserved intellectual power, sufficient for the severest strain, only found in minds of the highest order and natures thoroughly trained. While not a seeker of office, he understood his own fitness, and accepted government as his true career. Yet never did man hanker less for the power and emolument of place than he. Indeed side by side with his active political life, to which he devoted his active energies, he maintained the independent and distinct habits of a scholar. His translations of the classic poets into English verse are as fine renderings of the originals into their precise English equivalents as the language affords, gems in their exquisite chiseling and sparkle. Among these, the best known is his version of the Monkish verses, the Dies Irae, which is faultless in its adherence to meter and sense. He also leaves behind him two books, "A Winter in Madeira" and "A Summer in Spain," in which he records in easy passages his personal experinces of foreign travel. In conversation he was attractive, genial and instructive; scholarly, without the faintest tinge of pedantry. He was the idol of his home, and beloved by all with whom he was brought into personal contact.

In addition to these many social qualities, he had the love for outdoor sports and exercise which seems natural to statesmen. In a word, he was a thoroughly representative man of the best type of American character.